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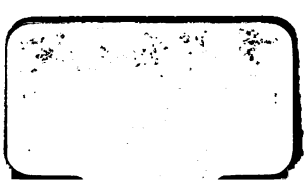

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THE MEMOIRS

OF

CAPTAIN GEORGE CARLETON,

AND

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

OF MRS. CHRISTIAN DAVIES.

IN ONE VOLUME.

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,
FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.
1840.

OCT
1926

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Memoirs of captain George Carleton, have been reprinted from the edition of sir Walter Scott, published at Edinburgh in 1809, collated with the edition of 1728; and the Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, from the original edition.

Oxford, May, 1840.

THE

MEMOIRS

OF AN

ENGLISH OFFICER,

Who serv'd in the *Dutch* War in 1672. to the Peace of *Utrecht*, in 1713.

Containing

Several Remarkable TRANSACTIONS both by Sea and Land, and in divers Countries, but chiefly those wherein the Author was personally concern'd.

Together with

A DESCRIPTION of many Cities, Towns, and Countries, in which he resided; their Manners and Customs, as well Religious as Civil, interspers'd with many curious OBSERVATIONS on their Monasteries and Nunneries, more particularly of the famous one at *Montserat*.

On the BULL-FEASTS, and other publick Diversions; as also on the Genius of the *Spanish* People, amongst whom he continued several Years a Prisoner of War. No Part of which has before been made publick.

By Capt. *GEORGE CARLETON.*

LONDON, Printed for E. SYMON, over against the Royal Exchange, *Cornhill*. M DCC XXVIII.

PREFACE

TO

CARLETON'S MEMOIRS,

CONTAINING

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

FROM an anecdote in Boswell's Life of Johnson, we are referred to the following Memoirs for the best account of the military achievements of the earl of Peterborough. "The best account of lord Peterborough that I have happened to meet with, is in captain Carleton's Memoirs. Carleton was descended of an officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Derry[a]. He was an officer, and, what was rare

[a] Mackenzie, in his "Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry," mentions no officer called Carleton. There is indeed a colonel Crofton frequently spoken of. But as Carleton himself served in the great Dutch war of 1665, we can hardly suppose him *descended* of a person distinguished by feats of arms in 1688.

at that time, had some knowledge in engineering. Johnson said he had never heard of the book. Lord Elliot had a copy at Port Elliot; but, after a good deal of inquiry, procured a copy in London, and sent it to Johnson; who told sir Joshua Reynolds, that he was going to bed when it came, but was so much pleased with it, that he sat up till he read it through, and found in it such an air of truth, that he could not doubt its authenticity; adding with a smile, in allusion to lord Elliot's having recently been raised to the peerage, I did not think a young lord could have mentioned to me a book in the English history that was not known to me."—*Boswell's Life of Johnson.*

A short sketch of the life of this celebrated general may be no unpleasing introduction to a volume, which derives its chief value from narrating his glorious successes.

Charles Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough, was born in 1658; and, in June 1675, succeeded to the title of lord Mordaunt and the estate of his family. He was educated in the navy, and in his youth served with the admirals Torrington and Narborough in the Mediterranean. In 1680 he accompanied the earl of Plymouth in the expedition to Tangier, where he distinguished himself against the Moors.

In the succeeding reign, lord Mordaunt opposed the repeal of the Test Act in the House of Lords; and having thus become obnoxious to the court, obtained liberty to go into the Dutch service. When he arrived in Holland, he was, as we learn from Burnet, amongst the most forward of those who advised the prince of

Orange to his grand enterprise. But the cold and considerate William saw obstacles, which escaped the fiery and enthusiastic Mordaunt; nor, although that prince used his services in the Revolution, does he appear to have reposed entire confidence in a character so opposite to his own. Yet Mordaunt reaped the reward of his zeal, being in 1688 created earl of Monmouth, lord of the bedchamber, and first commissioner of the treasury, which last office he did not long retain. He accompanied William in his campaign of 1692; and in 1697 succeeded to the title, which he has so highly distinguished, by the death of his uncle Henry, the second earl of Peterborough.

In the first year of queen Anne's reign, Peterborough was to have been sent out as governor-general of Jamaica, but the appointment did not take place. In 1705 he was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the forces sent to Spain, upon the splendid and almost romantic service of placing Charles of Austria on the throne of that monarchy. The wonders which he there wrought, are nowhere more fully detailed than in the simple pages of Carleton[b]. Barcelona was taken by a handful of men, and afterwards relieved in the face of a powerful enemy, whom Peterborough compelled to decamp, leaving their battering artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, and all their sick and wounded men. He drove before him, and finally expelled from Spain, the duke of Anjou, with his army of twenty-five thousand French, although his own

[b] See also the "Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain," by Dr. John Freind. London, 1707.

forces never amounted to half that number. All difficulties sunk before the creative power of his genius. Doomed as he was, by the infatuated folly of Charles, and by the private envy of his enemies at home, to conduct a perilous expedition, in a country ill affected to the cause, without supplies, stores, artillery, reinforcements, or money; he created substitutes for all these deficiencies,—even for the last of them. He took walled towns with dragoons, and stormed the caskets of the bankers of Genoa, without being able to offer them security. He gained possession of Catalonia, of the kingdoms of Valencia, Aragon, and Majorca, with part of Murcia and Castile, and thus opened the way for the earl of Galway's marching to Madrid without a blow. Nor was his talent at conciliating the natives less remarkable than his military achievements. With the feeling of a virtuous, and the prudence of a wise man, he restrained the excesses of his troops, respected the religion, the laws, even the prejudices of the Spaniards; and heretic as he was, became more popular amongst them than the catholic prince whom he was essaying to place on their throne. Yet, as Swift has strongly expressed it, "the only general, who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom of Spain, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent[c]." The cause of this strange step it would be

[c] Conduct of the Allies.

tedious here to investigate. One ostensible reason was, that Peterborough's parts were of too lively and mercurial a quality, and that his letters showed more wit than became a general; a common-place objection, raised by the dull malignity of common-place minds against those whom they see discharging with ease and indifference the tasks which they themselves execute (if at all) with the sweat of their brow, and in the heaviness of their heart. It is no uncommon error of judgment to maintain *à priori*, that a thing cannot possibly be well done, which has taken less time in doing than the person passing sentence had anticipated. There is also a certain hypocrisy in business, whether civil or military, as well as in religion, which they will do well to observe, who, not satisfied with discharging their duty, desire also the good report of men. To the want of that grave, serious, business-like deportment, which admits of no levity in the exercise of its office; but especially to the envy excited by his success, Britain owed the recall of the earl of Peterborough from Spain, during the full career of his victories. The command of the troops devolved on the earl of Galway; a thorough-bred soldier, as he was called; a sound-headed, steady, solid general, who proceeded, with all decency, decorum, and formal attention to the discipline of war, to lose the battle of Almanza, and to ruin the whole expedition to Spain.

In June 1710–11, the thanks of the House of Peers were returned to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain; and the chancellor used these remarkable words in expressing them:—"Had your lordship's

wise counsels, particularly your advice at the council of war in Valencia, been pursued in the following campaign, the fatal battle of Almanza, and our greatest misfortunes which have since happened in Spain, had been prevented, and the design upon Toulon might have happily succeeded."

In the years 1710 and 1711, the earl was employed in embassies to Turin, and other courts of Italy, and finally at Vienna. He returned from the German capital with such expedition, that none of his servants were able to keep up with him, but remained scattered in the different towns where he had severally outstripped them. He outrode, upon this same occasion, several expresses which he had himself despatched to announce his motions. Swift at this time received a letter from him, dated Hanover, and desiring an answer to be sent to him at his country-house in England [d]. Indeed, Peterborough's characteristic rapidity of travelling was about this time celebrated by the dean, in a little poem inscribed to him:—

Mordanto fills the trump of fame,
The Christian world his deeds proclaim,
And prints are crowded with his name.

In journeys he outrides the post,
Sits up till midnight with his host,
Talks politics, and gives the toast.

Knows every prince in Europe's face,
Flies like a squib from place to place,
And travels not, but runs a race.

[d] Swift's Journal to Stella, 24th June, 1711.

From Paris Gazette a-la-main,
This day arrived, without his train,
Mordanto in a week from Spain.

A messenger comes all a-reek,
Mordanto at Madrid to seek;
He left the town above a week.

Next day the post-boy winds his horn,
And rides through Dover in the morn:
Mordanto's landed from Leghorn.

Mordanto gallops on alone,
The roads are with his followers strown,
This breaks a girth, and that a bone.

His body active as his mind,
Returning sound in limb and wind,
Except some leather lost behind.

A skeleton in outward figure;
His meagre corpse, though full of vigour,
Would halt behind him, were it bigger.

So wonderful his expedition,
When you have not the least suspicion,
He's with you like an apparition.

Shines in all climates like a star;
In senates bold, and fierce in war;
A land commander, and a tar.

Heroic actions early bred in,
Ne'er to be matched in modern reading,
But by his namesake, Charles of Sweden.

Peterborough's haste was, in 1711, probably stimulated by the interest he took in the great public discussions on the policy of continuing the war with France. He argued in the affirmative with great ability, but without success. Although a strenuous Whig in principle, he was disliked by most of his own party, and greatly caressed in consequence by the Tories. After his return to England, he obtained the regiment of royal horse guards, and the honours of the garter, being installed 4th August, 1713. In November following, we find the earl British plenipotentiary to the king of Sicily and other Italian potentates; and in March, 1713-14, he was appointed governor of the island of Minorca.

Under George I. and George II. the earl of Peterborough was general of the marine forces in Great Britain.

In October, 1735, he found it necessary to set sail for Lisbon for recovery of his health; "no body," to use Pope's expression, "being so much wasted, no soul being more alive." He was cut in the bladder for a suppression of urine; immediately after which cruel operation, he took coach, and travelled no less a journey than from Bristol to Southampton, "like a man," says the same poet, "determined neither to live nor die like any other mortal." He died on his voyage to Lisbon, 25th October, 1735, aged seventy-seven.

The earl of Peterborough was twice married, and left two sons and a daughter by his first wife.

To all the talents of a general and negotiator, this wonderful man added those belonging to a literary

character. He associated with all the wits of queen Anne's reign, was a lively poet, and his familiar letters are read to advantage amongst those of Gay, Arbuthnot, Swift, and Pope. He lived in great intimacy with the last, who boasts, that,

> He, whose lightning pierced the Iberian lines,
> Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my vines;
> Or tames the genius of the stubborn plain,
> Almost as quickly as he conquered Spain.

To Pope, Peterborough bequeathed on his deathbed his watch, a present from the king of Sardinia, that, as he expressed it, his friend might have something to put him every day in mind of him.

The frame, in which were lodged such comprehensive talents, was thin, short, spare, and well calculated to endure the eternal fatigue imposed by the restless tenant within. The famous lines of Dryden might be happily applied to the earl of Peterborough:

> A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
> And o'er informed the tenement of clay.

His face, judging from the print in Dr. Birch's Lives, was thin; his eye lively and penetrating.

Such was Charles, earl of Peterborough, one of those phenomena whom nature produces once in the revolution of centuries, to show to ordinary men what she can do in a mood of prodigality.

To this short sketch of the principal character in these Memoirs, the publishers would willingly have

added some particulars of the author; but they are unable to say more on the subject than may be collected from the work itself, and the original preface. It is obvious that captain George Carleton was one of those men who choose the path of military life, not from a wish to indulge either indolent or licentious habits, but with a feeling of duty, which should be deeply impressed on all to whom their country commits the charge of her glory, and of the lives of their fellow subjects. There is a strain of grave and manly reflection through the work, which speaks the author accustomed to scenes of danger, and familiar with the thoughts of death. From his studies in mathematics, and in fortification, he is entitled to credit for his military remarks, which are usually made with simple modesty. His style is plain and soldier-like, without any pretence at ornament; though in narrating events of importance, its very simplicity gives it occasional dignity. Of the fate of the author after deliverance from his Spanish captivity, we know nothing; but can gather from some passages in his Memoirs, that it did not correspond with his merit[e]. While we hope that

[e] The Memoirs were first printed in 1743, with the following comprehensive title page:—"The Memoirs of captain George Carleton, an English officer, who served in the two last wars against France and Spain, and was present in several engagements, both in the fleet and army, Containing an account of the conduct of the earl of Peterborough, and other general officers, admirals, &c., and several remarkable transactions both by sea and land. In which the genius, pride, and barbarity of the Spaniards, during the author's being a prisoner of war among them, are set in a true light. Together with a description of many of their cities, towns, &c., par-

our present army possesses many such characters, as the reflecting, manly, and conscientious Carleton, we heartily wish them better fortune.

ticularly Valencia, Barcelona, Molviedro, Saguntum, Alicant, Montserat, Denia, St. Clement de la Mancha, Madrid, Valladolid, Bilboa, St. Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Pont d'Esprit, Pampeluna, Saragoza, &c. Their manners and customs, both religious and civil; observations on their monasteries and nunneries, and their manner of investing nuns. Likewise their bull-feasts, and other public diversions."

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SPENCER LORD COMPTON,

BARON OF WILMINGTON,

KNIGHT OF THE BATH, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It was my fortune, my lord, in my juvenile years, *Musas cum marte commutare;* and truly I have reason to blush, when I consider the small advantage I have reaped from that change. But lest it should be imputed to my want of merit, I have wrote these Memoirs, and leave the world to judge of my deserts. They are not set forth by any fictitious stories, nor embellished with rhetorical flourishes; plain truth is certainly most becoming the character of an old soldier. Yet let them be never so meritorious, if not protected by some noble patron, some persons may think them to be of no value.

To you, therefore, my lord, I present them; to you, who have so eminently distinguished yourself, and whose wisdom has been so conspicuous to the late representatives of Great Britain, that each revolving

age will speak in your praise; and if you vouchsafe to be the Mecænas of these Memoirs, your name will give them sufficient sanction.

An old soldier I may truly call myself, and my family allows me the title of a gentleman; yet I have seen many favourites of fortune, without being able to discern why they should be so happy, and myself so unfortunate. But let not that discourage your lordship from receiving these my Memoirs into your patronage; for the unhappy cannot expect favour, but from those who are endued with generous souls.

Give me leave, my lord, to congratulate this good fortune, that neither whig nor tory (in this complaining age) have found fault with your conduct. Your family has produced heroes, in defence of injured kings; and you, when it was necessary, have as nobly adhered to the cause of liberty.

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,

And most devoted humble Servant,

G. Carleton.

TO THE READER.

THE author of these Memoirs began early to distinguish himself in martial affairs, otherwise he could not have seen such variety of actions, both by sea and land. After the last Dutch war he went into Flanders, where he not only served under the command of his highness the prince of Orange, whilst he was generalissimo of the Dutch forces, but likewise all the time he reigned king of Great Britain. Most of the considerable passages and events, which happened during that time, are contained in the former part of this book.

In the year 1705, the regiment, in which he served as captain, was ordered to embark for the West Indies; and he, having no inclination to go thither, changed with an half-pay captain; and being recommended to the earl of Peterborough by the late lord Cutts, went with him upon that noble expedition into Spain.

When the forces under his lordship's command were landed near Barcelona, the siege of that place was thought by several impracticable, not only for want of experienced engineers, but that the besieged were as numerous as the besiegers; yet the courage of that brave earl surmounted those difficulties, and the siege was resolved upon.

Our author having obtained, by his long service, some knowledge of the practic part of an engineer, and seeing at that critical time the great want of such,

readily acted as one, which gave him the greater opportunity of being an eyewitness of his lordship's actions; and consequently made him capable of setting them forth in these his Memoirs.

It may not be, perhaps, improper to mention, that the author of these Memoirs was born at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, descended from an ancient and an honourable family. The lord Dudley Carleton, who died secretaty of state to king Charles I., was his great uncle; and in the same reign his father was envoy at the court of Madrid, whilst his uncle, sir Dudley Carleton, was ambassador to the states of Holland; men in those days respected both for their abilities and loyalty.

MEMOIRS

OF

CAPTAIN CARLETON.

In the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, war being proclaimed with Holland, it was looked upon, among nobility and gentry, as a blemish not to attend the duke of York[a] aboard the fleet, who was then declared admiral. With many others, I, at that time about twenty years of age, entered myself a volunteer on board the London, commanded by sir Edward Sprage, vice-admiral of the red.

The fleet set sail from the buoy of the Nore about the beginning of May, in order to join the French fleet, then at anchor in St. Helen's road, under the command of the count de Estrée. But in executing this design we had a very narrow escape: for De Ruyter, the admiral of the Dutch fleet, having notice of our intentions, waited to have intercepted us at the mouth of the river, but by the assistance of a great fog we passed Dover before he was aware of it; and thus he miscarried, with the poor advantage of taking only one small tender.

A day or two after the joining of the English and

[a] Afterwards James II. By the treaty betwixt England and France, six thousand of the British troops were to assist the French army against the Dutch. The two fleets of France and England joined the 2nd May. The English consisting of a hundred, and the French of forty sail. The States had seventy-two large ships and forty frigates.

French, we sailed directly towards the Dutch coast, where we soon got sight of their fleet; a sand called the Galloper lying between. The Dutch seemed willing there to expect an attack from us: but in regard the Charles man-of-war had been lost on those sands the war before, and that our ships drawing more water than those of the enemy, an engagement might be rendered very disadvantageous, it was resolved in a council of war to avoid coming to a battle for the present, and to sail directly for Solebay; which was accordingly put in execution.

We had not been in Solebay above four or five days, when De Ruyter, hearing of it, made his signal for sailing, in order to surprise us; and he had certainly had his aim, had there been any breeze of wind to favour him. But though they made use of all their sails, there was so little air stirring, that we could see their fleet making towards us long before they came up; notwithstanding which, our admirals found difficulty enough to form their ships into a line of battle, so as to be ready to receive the enemy.

It was about four in the morning of the 28th of May, being Tuesday in Whitsun week, when we first made the discovery; and about eight the same morning, the blue squadron, under the command of the earl of Sandwich, began to engage with admiral Van Ghent, who commanded the Amsterdam squadron; and about nine the whole fleets were under a general engagement. The fight lasted till ten at night, and with equal fury on all sides, the French excepted, who appeared stationed there rather as spectators than parties; and as unwilling to be too much upon the offensive, for fear of offending themselves.

During the fight the English admiral had two ships disabled under him; and was obliged about four in the afternoon to remove himself a third time into the London, where he remained all the rest of the fight, and till next morning. Nevertheless, on his entrance

upon the London, which was the ship I was in, and on our hoisting the standard, De Ruyter and his squadron seemed to double their fire upon her, as if they resolved to blow her out of the water. Notwithstanding all which, the duke of York remained all the time upon quarter-deck, and as the bullets plentifully whizzed around him, would often rub his hands, and cry, Sprage, Sprage, they follow us still. I am very sensible latter times have not been over favourable in their sentiments of that unfortunate prince's valour, yet I cannot omit the doing a piece of justice to his memory, in relating a matter of fact, of which my own eyes were witnesses, and saying, that if intrepidity and undauntedness may be reckoned any parts of courage, no man in the fleet better deserved the title of courageous, or behaved himself with more gallantry than he did.

The English lost the Royal James, commanded by the earl of Sandwich, which, about twelve, (after the strenuous endeavours of her sailors to disengage her from two Dutch fire-ships placed on her, one athwart her hawsers, the other on her starboard side,) took fire, blew up, and perished, and with her a great many brave gentlemen as well as sailors; and amongst the rest the earl himself, concerning whom I shall further add, that in my passage from Harwich to the Brill, a year or two after, the master of the packet-boat told me that having observed a great flock of gulls hovering in one particular part of the sea, he ordered his boat to make up to it; when discovering a corpse, the sailors would have returned it to the sea, as the corpse of a Dutchman; but keeping it in his boat, it proved to be that of the earl of Sandwich. There was found about him between twenty and thirty guineas, some silver, and his gold watch; restoring which to his lady, she kept the watch, but rewarded their honesty with all the gold and silver.

This was the only ship the English lost in this long engagement. For although the Katherine was taken,

and her commander, sir John Chicheley, made prisoner, her sailors soon after finding the opportunity they had watched for, seized all the Dutch sailors who had been put in upon them, and brought the ship back to our own fleet, together with all the Dutchmen prisoners; for which, as they deserved, they were well rewarded. This is the same ship which the earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Buckingham, commanded the next sea fight, and has caused to be painted in his house in St. James's Park.

I must not omit one very remarkable occurrence which happened in this ship. There was a gentleman aboard her, a volunteer, of a very fine estate, generally known by the name of Hodge Vaughan: this person received, in the beginning of the fight, a considerable wound, which the great confusion during the battle would not give them leave to inquire into; so he was carried out of the way, and disposed of in the hold. They had some hogs aboard, which the sailor, under whose care they were, had neglected to feed; these hogs, hungry as they were, found out and fell upon the wounded person, and between dead and alive eat him up to his very scull, which, after the fight was over, and the ship retaken, as before, was all that could be found of him.

Another thing, less to be accounted for, happened to a gentleman volunteer who was aboard the same ship with myself. He was of known personal courage, in the vulgar notion of it, his sword never having failed him in many private duels. But notwithstanding all his land-mettle, it was observed of him at sea, that whenever the bullets whizzed over his head, or any way incommoded his ears, he immediately quitted the deck, and ran down into the hold. At first he was gently reproached; but after many repetitions, he was laughed at, and began to be despised; sensible of which, as a testimonial of his valour, he made it his request to be tied to the mainmast. But had it been

granted him, I cannot see any title he could have pleaded from hence to true magnanimity; since to be tied from running away can import nothing less than that he would have still continued these signs of cowardice if he had not been prevented. There is a bravery of mind which I fancy few of those gentlemen duellists are possessed of. True courage cannot proceed from what sir Walter Raleigh finely calls the art or philosophy of quarrel. No! It must be the issue of principle, and can have no other basis than a steady tenet of religion. This will appear more plain, if those artists in murder will give themselves leave coolly to consider, and answer me this question, Why he that had ran so many risks at his sword's point, should be so shamefully intimidated at the whiz of a cannon-ball?

The names of those English gentlemen who lost their lives, as I remember, in this engagement.

Commissioner Cox, captain of the Royal Prince, under the command of the admiral; and Mr. Travanian, gentleman to the duke of York; Mr. Digby, captain of the Henry, second son to the earl of Bristol; sir Fletchvile Hollis, captain of the Cambridge, who lost one of his arms in the war before, and his life in this; captain Saddleton, of the Dartmouth; the lord Maidstone, son to the earl of Winchelsea, a volunteer on board the Charles, commanded by sir John Harman, vice-admiral of the Red.

Sir Philip Carteret, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Cotterel, Mr. Poyton, Mr. Gose, with several other gentlemen unknown to me, lost their lives with the earl of Sandwich, on board the Royal James; Mr. Vaughan, on board the Katherine, commanded by sir John Chicheley.

In this engagement, sir George Rook was youngest lieutenant to sir Edward Sprage; Mr. Russel, afterwards earl of Orford, was captain of a small fifth rate,

called the Phœnix; Mr. Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, was captain of a small fourth rate, called the Monck; sir Harry Dutton Colt, who was on board the Victory, commanded by the earl of Ossory, is the only man now living that I can remember was in this engagement.

But to proceed, the Dutch had one man-of-war sunk, though so near the shore, that I saw some part of her mainmast remain above water; with their admiral Van Ghent, who was slain in the close engagement with the earl of Sandwich. This engagement lasted fourteen hours, and was looked upon the greatest that ever was fought between the English and the Hollander.

I cannot here omit one thing, which to some may seem trifling; though I am apt to think our naturalists may have a different opinion of it, and find it afford their fancies no undiverting employment in more curious, and less perilous reflections. We had on board the London, where, as I have said, I was a volunteer, a great number of pigeons, of which our commander was very fond. These, on the first firing of our cannon, dispersed, and flew away, and were seen nowhere near us during the fight. The next day it blew a brisk gale, and drove our fleet some leagues to the southward of the place where they forsook our ship, yet the day after they all returned safe aboard; not in one flock, but in small parties of four or five at a time. Some persons at that time aboard the ship admiring at the manner of their return, and speaking of it with some surprise, sir Edward Sprage told them that he brought those pigeons with him from the Straits; and that when, pursuant to his order, he left the Revenge man-of-war, to go aboard the London, all those pigeons, of their own accord, and without the trouble or care of carrying, left the Revenge likewise, and removed with the sailors on board the London,

where I saw them: all which, many of the sailors afterwards confirmed to me. What sort of instinct this could proceed from, I leave to the curious.

Soon after this sea engagement I left the fleet. And the parliament, the winter following, manifesting their resentments against two of the plenipotentiaries, viz. Buckingham and Arlington, who had been sent over into Holland; and expressing, withal, their great umbrage taken at the prodigious progress of the French arms in the United Provinces; and warmly remonstrating the inevitable danger attending England in their ruin; King Charles from all this, and for want of the expected supplies, found himself under a necessity of clapping up a speedy peace with Holland.

This peace leaving those youthful spirits that had by the late naval war been raised into a generous ferment, under a perfect inactivity at home; they found themselves, to avoid a sort of life that was their aversion, obliged to look out for one more active, and more suitable to their vigorous tempers abroad.

I must acknowledge myself one of that number; and therefore in the year 1674 I resolved to go into Flanders, in order to serve as volunteer in the army commanded by his highness the prince of Orange. I took my passage accordingly at Dover for Calais, and so went by way of Dunkirk for Brussels.

Arriving at which place, I was informed that the army of the confederates lay encamped not far from Nivelle, and under the daily expectation of an engagement with the enemy. This news made me press forward to the service; for which purpose I carried along with me proper letters of recommendation to sir Walter Vane, who was at that time a major-general. Upon further inquiry I understood that a party of horse, which was to guard some waggons that were going to count Montery's army, were to set out next morning; so I got an Irish priest to introduce me to the commanding officer, which he readily obliged me in; and

they, as I wished them, arrived in the camp next day.

I had scarce been there an hour, when happened one of the most extraordinary accidents in life. I observed in the east a strange dusty coloured cloud, of a pretty large extent, riding (not before the wind, for it was a perfect calm) with such a precipitate motion, that it was got over our heads almost as soon as seen. When the skirts of that cloud began to cover our camp, there suddenly arose such a terrible hurricane, or whirlwind, that all the tents were carried aloft with great violence into the air; and soldiers' hats flew so high and thick, that my fancy can resemble it to nothing better than those flights of rooks, which at dusk of evening, leaving the fields, seek their roosting places. Trees were torn up by the very roots; and the roofs of all the barns, &c. belonging to the prince's quarters, were blown quite away. This lasted for about half an hour, until the cloud was wholly past over us, when as suddenly ensued the same pacific calm as before the cloud's approach. Its course was seemingly directly west; and yet we were soon after informed, that the fine dome of the great church at Utrecht had greatly suffered by it the same day. And, if I am not much mistaken, sir William Temple, in his Memoirs, mentions somewhat of it, which he felt at Lillo, on his return from the prince of Orange's camp, where he had been a day or two before.

As soon after this as I could get an opportunity, I delivered, at his quarters, my recommendatory letters to sir Walter Vane; who received me very kindly, telling me at the same time, that there were six or seven English gentlemen, who had entered themselves volunteers in the prince's own company of guards; and added, that he would immediately recommend me to count Solmes, their colonel. He was not worse than his word, and I was entered accordingly. Those six gentlemen were as follows; —— Clavers, who since

was better known by the title of lord Dundee; Mr. Collier, now lord Portmore; Mr. Rooke, since major-general; Mr. Hales, who lately died, and was for a long time governor of Chelsea Hospital; Mr. Venner, son of that Venner remarkable for his being one of the fifth-monarchy men; and Mr. Boyce. The four first rose to be very eminent; but fortune is not to all alike favourable.

In about a week's time after, it was resolved in a council of war, to march towards Binch, a small walled town, about four leagues from Nivelle; the better to cut off the provisions from coming to the prince of Condé's camp that way.

Accordingly, on the 1st of August, being Saturday, we began our march; and the English volunteers had the favour of a baggage waggon appointed them. Count Souches, the imperial general, with the troops of that nation, led the van; the main body was composed of Dutch, under the prince of Orange, as generalissimo; and the Spaniards, under prince Vaudemont, with some detachments, made the rear-guard.

As we were upon our march, I being among those detachments which made up the rear-guard, observed a great party of the enemy's horse upon an ascent, which, I then imagined, as it after proved, to be the prince of Condé taking a view of our forces under march. There were many defiles, which our army must necessarily pass; through which that prince politically enough permitted the imperial and Dutch forces to pass unmolested. But when prince Vaudemont, with the Spaniards, and our detachments, thought to have done the like, the prince of Condé fell on our rear-guard; and, after a long and sharp dispute, entirely routed them; the marquis of Assentar, a Spanish lieutenant-general, dying upon the spot.

Had the prince of Condé contented himself with this share of good fortune, his victory had been uncontested: but being pushed forward by a vehement heat of temper,

which he was noted for, and flushed with this extraordinary success, he resolved to force the whole confederate army to a battle. In order to which, he immediately led his forces between our second line and our line of baggage; by which means the latter were entirely cut off, and were subjected to the will of the enemy, who fell directly to plunder; in which they were not a little assisted by the routed Spaniards themselves, who did not disdain at that time to share with the enemy in the plundering of their friends and allies.

The English volunteers had their share of this ill fortune with the rest, their waggon appointed them being among those intercepted by the enemy; and I, for my part, lost everything but life, which yet was saved almost as unaccountably as my fellow-soldiers had lost theirs. The baggage, as I have said, being cut off, and at the mercy of the enemy, every one endeavoured to escape through or over the hedges. And as in all cases of like confusion, one endeavours to save himself upon the ruins of others; so here, he that found himself stopt by another in getting over the gap of a hedge, pulled him back to make way for himself, and perhaps met with the same fortune from a third, to the destruction of all. I was then in the vigour of my youth, and none of the least active, and perceiving how it had fared with some before me, I clapt my left leg upon the shoulders of one who was thus contending with another, and with a spring threw myself over both their heads and the hedge at the same time. By this means I not only saved my life, (for they were all cut to pieces that could not get over), but from an eminence, which I soon after attained, I had an opportunity of seeing and making my observations upon the remaining part of that glorious conflict.

It was from that advantageous situation, that I presently discovered that the imperialists, who led the van, had now joined the main body. And, I confess, it was with an almost inexpressible pleasure, that I beheld,

about three o'clock, with what intrepid fury they fell upon the enemy. In short, both armies were universally engaged, and with great obstinacy disputed the victory till eleven at night, at which time the French, being pretty well surfeited, made their retreat: nevertheless, to secure it by a stratagem, they left their lighted matches hanging in the hedges and waving with the air, to conceal it from the confederate army.

About two hours after, the confederate forces followed the example of their enemies, and drew off. And, though neither army had much reason to boast, yet, as the prince of Orange remained last in the field, and the French had lost what they before had gained, the glory of the day fell to the prince of Orange; who, although but twenty-four years of age, had the suffrage of friend and foe, of having played the part of an old and experienced officer.

There were left that day on the field of battle, by a general computation, not less than eighteen thousand men on both sides, over and above those who died of their wounds: the loss being pretty equal, only the French carried off most prisoners. Prince Waldeck was shot through the arm, which I was near enough to be an eye-witness of: and my much-lamented friend, sir Walter Vane, was carried off dead. A wound in the arm was all the mark of honour that I as yet could boast of, though our cannon in the defiles had slain many near me.

The prince of Condé (as we were next day informed) lay all that night under a hedge, wrapped in his cloak: and either from the mortification of being disappointed in his hopes of victory, or from a reflection of the disservice which his own natural over heat of temper had drawn upon him, was almost inconsolable many days after. And thus ended the famous battle of Seneff.

But though common vogue has given it the name of a battle, in my weak opinion it might rather deserve that of a confused skirmish; all things having been

forcibly carried on without regularity, or even design enough to allow it any higher denomination: for, as I have said before, notwithstanding I was advantageously stationed for observation, I found it very often impossible to distinguish one party from another. And this was more remarkably evident on the part of the prince of Orange, whose valour and vigour having led him into the middle of the enemy, and being then sensible of his error, by a peculiar presence of mind, gave the word of command in French, which he spoke perfectly well. But the French soldiers, who took him for one of their own generals, making answer, that their powder was all spent, it afforded matter of instruction to him to persist in his attack, at the same time that it gave him a lesson of caution, to withdraw himself, as soon as he could, to his own troops.

However, the day after the prince of Orange thought proper to march to Quarignan, a village within a league of Mons; where he remained some days, till he could be supplied from Brussels with those necessaries which his army stood in need of.

From thence we marched to Valenciennes, where we again encamped, till we could receive things proper for a siege. Upon the arrival whereof, the prince gave orders to decamp, and marched his army with a design to besiege Aeth. But having intelligence on our march that the mareschal de Humiers had reinforced that garrison, we marched directly to Oudenard, and immediately invested it.

This siege was carried on with such application and success, that the besiegers were in a few days ready for a storm; but the prince of Condé prevented them, by coming up to its relief. Upon which the prince of Orange, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war the night before, drew off his forces in order to give him battle; and to that purpose, after the laborious work of filling up our lines of contravallation, that the horse might pass more freely, we lay upon our arms all night.

Next morning we expected the imperial general, count Souches, to join us; but instead of that, he sent back some very frivolous excuses, of the inconveniency of the ground for a battle; and after that, instead of joining the prince, marched off quite another way; the prince of Orange, with the Dutch and Spanish troops, marched directly for Ghent; exclaiming publicly against the chicanery of Souches, and openly declaring that he had been advertised of a conference between a French capuchin and that general, the night before. Certain it is, that that general lay under the displeasure of his master, the emperor, for that piece of management; and the count de Sporck was immediately appointed general in his place.

The prince of Orange was hereupon leaving the army in great disgust, till prevailed upon by the count de Montery, for the general safety, to recede from that resolution. However, seeing no likelihood of anything further to be done, while Souches was in command, he resolved upon a post of more action, though more dangerous; wherefore ordering ten thousand men to march before, he himself soon after followed to the siege of Grave.

The Grave, a strong place, and of the first moment to the Hollanders, had been blocked up by the Dutch forces all the summer; the prince of Orange therefore, leaving the main army under prince Waldeck at Ghent, followed the detachment he had made for the siege of that important place, resolving to purchase it at any rate. On his arrival before it, things began to find new motion; and as they were carried on with the utmost application and fury, the besieged found themselves, in a little time, obliged to change their haughty summer note for one more suitable to the season.

The prince, from his first coming, having kept those within hotly plied with ball, both from cannon and mortars, monsieur Chamilly, the governor, after a few days, being weary of such warm work, desired to capi-

tulate; upon which hostages were exchanged, and articles agreed on next morning. Pursuant to which, the garrison marched out with drums beating and colours flying two days after, and were conducted to Charleroy.

By the taking this place, which made the prince of Orange the more earnest upon it, the French were wholly expelled their last year's astonishing conquests in Holland. And yet there was another consideration, that rendered the surrender of it much more considerable. For the French being sensible of the great strength of this place, had there deposited all their cannon and ammunition, taken from their other conquests in Holland, which they never were able to remove or carry off, with tolerable prospect of safety, after that prince's army first took the field.

The enemy being marched out, the prince entered the town, and immediately ordered public thanksgivings for its happy reduction. Then, having appointed a governor, and left a sufficient garrison, he put an end to that campaign, and returned to the Hague, where he had not been long before he fell ill of the small-pox. The consternation this threw the whole country into, is not to be expressed: any one that had seen it would have thought that the French had made another inundation greater than the former. But when the danger was over, their joy and satisfaction for his recovery was equally beyond expression.

The year 1675 yielded very little remarkable in our army. Limburgh was besieged by the French, under the command of the duke of Enguien, which the prince of Orange having intelligence of, immediately decamped from his fine camp at Bethlem, near Louvain, in order to raise the siege. But as we were on a full march for that purpose, and had already reached Ruremond, word was brought, that the place had surrendered the day before. Upon which advice, the prince, after a short halt, made his little army (for it consisted not of more than thirty

thousand men) march back to Brabant. Nothing of moment, after this, occurred all that campaign.

In the year 1676 the prince of Orange having, in concert with the Spaniards, resolved upon the important siege of Maestrich, the only town in the Dutch provinces then remaining in the hands of the French, it was accordingly invested about the middle of June, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of his highness prince Waldeck, with the grand army covering the siege. It was some time before the heavy cannon, which we expected up the Maes, from Holland, arrived; which gave occasion to a piece of raillery of monsieur Calvo, the governor, which was as handsomely reparteed. That governor, by a messenger, intimating his sorrow to find we had pawned our cannon for ammunition bread; answer was made, that in a few days we hoped to give him a taste of the loaves, which he should find would be sent him into the town in extraordinary plenty. I remember another piece of raillery, which passed some days after between the Rhinegrave and the same Calvo. The former sending word, that he hoped within three weeks to salute that governor's mistress within the place, Calvo replied, he would give him leave to kiss her all over, if he kissed her anywhere in three months.

But our long expected artillery being at last arrived, all this jest and merriment was soon converted into earnest. Our trenches were immediately opened towards the dauphin bastion, against which were planted many cannon, in order to make a breach; myself, as a probationer, being twice put upon the forlorn hope to facilitate that difficult piece of service. Nor was it long before such a breach was effected as was esteemed practicable, and therefore very soon after it was ordered to be attacked.

The disposition for the attack was thus ordered; two serjeants with twenty grenadiers, a captain with fifty

men, myself one of the number; then a party carrying wool sacks, and after them two captains with one hundred men more; the soldiers in the trenches to be ready to sustain them, as occasion should require.

The signal being given, we left our trenches accordingly, having about one hundred yards to run, before we could reach the breach, which we mounted with some difficulty and loss; all our batteries firing at the same instant, to keep our action in countenance, and favour our design. When we were in possession of the bastion, the enemy fired most furiously upon us with their small cannon through a thin brick wall, by which, and their hand grenadoes, we lost more men than we did in the attack itself.

But well had it been had our ill fortune stopped there; for as if disaster must needs be the concomitant of success, we soon lost what we had thus gotten, by a small, but very odd accident. Not being furnished with such scoops as our enemies made use of in tossing their hand grenadoes some distance off, one of our own soldiers aiming to throw one over the wall into the counterscarp among the enemy, it so happened that he unfortunately missed his aim, and the grenade fell down again on our side the wall, very near the person who fired it. He, starting back to save himself, and some others who saw it fall doing the like, those who knew nothing of the matter fell into a sudden confusion, and imagining some greater danger than there really was, everybody was struck with a panic fear, and endeavoured to be the first who should quit the bastion, and secure himself by a real shame from an imaginary evil. Thus was a bastion, that had been gloriously gained, inadvertently deserted; and that too with the loss of almost as many men in the retreat as had been slain in the onset; and the enemy most triumphantly again took possession of it.

Among the slain on our side in this action, was an

ensign of sir John Fenwick's regiment; and as an approbation of my services, his commission was bestowed upon me.

A few days after it was resolved again to storm that bastion, as before; out of three English, and one Scotch regiments, then in the camp, a detachment was selected for a fresh attack. Those regiments were under the command of sir John Fenwick (who was afterwards beheaded), colonel Ralph Widdrington, and colonel Ashley, of the English; and sir Alexander Collier, father of the present lord Portmore, of the Scotch. Out of every of these four regiments, as before, were detached a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, with fifty men: captain Anthony Barnwell, of sir John Fenwick's regiment, who was now my captain, commanding that attack.

At break of day the attack was begun with great resolution; and though vigorously maintained, was attended with the desired success. The bastion was again taken, and in it the commanding officer, who in service to himself, more than to us, told us that the centre of the bastion would soon be blown up, being to his knowledge undermined for that purpose. But this secret proved of no other use than to make us, by way of precaution, to keep as much as we could upon the rampart. In this attack captain Barnwell lost his life; and it happened my new commission was wetted, (not, as too frequently is the custom, with a debauch) but with a bullet through my hand, and the breach of my collar-bone with the stroke of a halberd.

After about half an hour's possession of the bastion, the mine under it, of which the French officer gave us warning, was sprung; the enemy at the same time making a furious sally upon us. The mine did a little, though the less execution, for being discovered; but the sally no way answered their end, for we beat them back, and immediately fixed our lodgment; which we maintained during the time of the siege. But to our

double surprise, a few days after they fired another mine under, or aside, the former, in which they had placed a quantity of grenadoes, which did much more execution than the other: notwithstanding all which, a battery of guns was presently erected upon that bastion, which very considerably annoyed the enemy.

The breach for a general storm was now rendered almost practicable; yet before that could be advisably attempted, there was a strong hornwork to be taken. Upon this exploit the Dutch troops only were to signalise themselves; and they answered the confidence reposed in them; for though they were twice repulsed, at the third onset they were more successful, and took possession; which they likewise kept to the raising of the siege.

There was a stratagem laid at this time, which in its own merit one would have thought should not have failed of a good effect; but to show the vanity of the highest human wisdom, it miscarried. On the other side of the Maes, opposite to Maestrich, lies the strong fortress of Wyck, to which it is joined by a stone bridge of six fair arches. The design was, by a false attack on that regular fortification, to draw the strength of the garrison to its defence, which was but very natural to imagine would be the consequence. Ready to attend that well-concerted false attack, a large flat-bottomed boat, properly furnished with barrels of gunpowder, and other necessaries, was to fall down under one of the middle arches, and when fixed there, by firing the powder to have blown up the bridge, and by that means to have prevented the return of the garrison to oppose a real attack at that instant of time to be made upon the town of Maestrich by the whole army.

The false attack on Wyck was accordingly made, which, as proposed, drew the main of the garrison of Maestrich to its defence, and the boat so furnished fell down the river as projected, but unfortunately, before

it could reach the arch, from the darkness of the night, running upon a shoal, it could not be got off; for which reason the men in the boat were glad to make a hasty escape for fear of being discovered; as the boat was, next morning, and the whole design laid open.

This stratagem thus miscarrying, all things were immediately got ready for a general storm, at the main breach in the town; and the rather, because the prince of Orange had received incontestable intelligence, that duke Schomberg, at the head of the French army, was in full march to relieve the place. But before everything could be rightly got ready for the intended storm, (though some there were who pretended to say, that a dispute raised by the Spaniards with the Dutch, about the propriety of the town, when taken, was the cause of that delay,) we heard at some distance several guns fired as signals of relief; upon which we precipitately, and, as most imagined, shamefully drew off from before the place, and joined the grand army under prince Waldeck. But it was matter of yet greater surprise to most on the spot, that when the armies were so joined, we did not stay to offer the enemy battle. The well-known courage of the prince, then generalissimo, was so far from solving this riddle, that it rather puzzled all who thought of it; however, the prevailing opinion was, that it was occasioned by some great misunderstanding between the Spaniards and the Dutch. And experience will evince, that this was not the only disappointment of that nature, occasioned by imperfect understandings.

Besides the number of common soldiers slain in this attack, which was not inconsiderable, we lost here the brave Rhinegrave, a person much lamented on account of his many other excellent qualifications, as well as that of a general. Colonel Ralph Widdrington, and colonel Doleman (who had not enjoyed Widdrington's commission above a fortnight,) captain Douglas, captain Barnwell, and captain Lee, were of the slain

among the English; who, indeed, had borne the whole brunt of the attack upon the dauphin's bastion.

I remember the prince of Orange, during the siege, received a shot through his arm; which giving an immediate alarm to the troops under his command, he took his hat off his head with the wounded arm, and smiling, waved it, to show them there was no danger. Thus, after the most gallant defence against the most courageous onsets, ended the siege of Maestrich; and with it all that was material that campaign.

Early in the spring, in the year 1677, the French army, under the duke of Orleans, besieged at once, both Cambray and St. Omers. This last the prince of Orange seemed very intent and resolute to relieve. In order to which, well knowing by sad experience, it would be to little purpose to wait the majestic motions of the Spaniards, that prince got together what forces he could, all in Dutch pay, and marching forward with all speed, resolved, even at the hazard of a battle, to attempt the raising the siege. Upon his appearing the duke of Orleans, to whose particular conduct the care of that siege was committed, drew off from before the place, leaving scarce enough of his men to defend the trenches. The prince was under the necessity of marching his forces over a morass; and the duke well knowing it, took care to attack him near Mont Cassel, before half his little army were got over. The dispute was very sharp, but the prince being much outnumbered, and his troops not able, by the straightness of the passage, to engage all at once, was obliged at last to retreat, which he did in pretty good order. I remember the Dutch troops did not all alike do their duty; and the prince seeing one of the officers on his fullest speed, called to him over and over to halt; which the officer in too much haste to obey, the prince gave him a slash over the face, saying, By this mark I shall know you another time. Soon after this retreat of the prince, St. Omers was surrendered.

Upon this retreat the prince marching back, lay for some time among the boors, who from the good discipline, which he took care to make his troops observe, did not give us their customary boorish reception. And yet as secure as we might think ourselves, I met with a little passage that confirmed in me the notions, which the generality, as well as I, had imbibed of the private barbarity of those people, whenever an opportunity falls in their way. I was strolling at a distance from my quarters, all alone, when I found myself near one of their houses; into which, the doors being open, I ventured to enter. I saw nobody when I came in, though the house was, for that sort of people, well enough furnished, and in pretty decent order. I called, but nobody answering, I had the curiosity to advance a little further, when, at the mouth of the oven, which had not yet wholly lost its heat, I spied the corpse of a man so bloated, swollen and parched, as left me little room to doubt that the oven had been the scene of his destiny. I confess the sight struck me with horror; and as much courage and security as I entered with, I withdrew in haste, and with quite different sentiments, and could not fancy myself out of danger till I had reached our camp. A wise man should not frame an accusation on conjectures; but, on inquiry, I was soon made sensible, that such barbarous usage is too common among those people; especially if they meet with a straggler, of what nation soever.

This made me not very sorry when we decamped, and we soon after received orders to march and invest Charleroy; before which place we stayed somewhat above a week, and then drew off. I remember very well, that I was not the only person then in the camp that was at a loss to dive into the reason of this investiture and decampment; but since I at that time, among the politicians of the army, never heard a good one, I shall not venture to offer my sentiments at so great a distance.

We, after this, marched towards Mons; and, in our march, passed over the very grounds on which the battle of Seneff had been fought three years before. It was with no little pleasure, that I re-surveyed a place, that had once been of so much danger to me; and where my memory and fancy now repeated back all those observations I had then made under some unavoidable confusion. Young as I was, both in years and experience, from my own reflections, and the sentiments of others, after the fight was over, methought I saw visibly before me the well-ordered disposition of the prince of Conde; the inexpressible difficulties which the prince of Orange had to encounter with; while at the same moment I could not omit to repay my debt to the memory of my first patron, sir Walter Vane, who there losing his life, left me a solitary wanderer to the wide world of fortune.

But these thoughts soon gave place to new objects, which every hour presented themselves in our continued march to Enghien, a place famous for the finest gardens in Flanders, near which we encamped on the very same ground which the French chose some years after at the battle of Steenkirk; of which I shall speak in its proper place. Here the prince of Orange left our army, as we afterwards found, to pass into England; where he married the princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York. And after his departure, that campaign ended without anything further material.

Now began the year 1678, famous for the peace, and no less remarkable for an action previous to it, which has not failed to employ the talents of men, variously, as they stood affected. Our army, under the prince of Orange, lay encamped at Soignies, where it was whispered that the peace was concluded. Notwithstanding which, two days after, being Sunday the 17th day of August, the army was drawn out, as most others as well as myself apprehended, in order to a *feux de joye*; but in lieu of that, we found our march

ordered towards St. Dennis, where the duke of Luxemburg lay, as he imagined, safe in inaccessible intrenchments.

About three o'clock our army arrived there, when we received orders to make the attack. It began with a most vigorous spirit, that promised no less than the success which ensued. The three English and three Scotch regiments, under the command of the ever renowned earl of Ossory, together with the prince of Orange's guards, made their attack at a place called the Château; where the French took their refuge among a parcel of hop-poles; but their resource was as weak as their defence, and they were soon beaten out with a very great slaughter.

It was here that a French officer having his pistol directed at the breast of the prince, monsieur D'Auverquerque interposed, and shot the officer dead upon the spot.

The fight lasted from three in the afternoon till nine at night, when, growing dark, the duke of Luxemburg forsook his intrenchments, into which we marched next morning. And to see the sudden change of things! that very spot of ground, where nothing but fire and fury appeared the day before, the next saw solaced with the proclamation of a peace.

About an hour before the attack began, the duke of Monmouth arrived in the army, being kindly received by the prince of Orange, bravely fighting by his side all that day. The woods, and the unevenness of the ground, rendered the cavalry almost useless; yet I saw a standard among some others, which was taken from the enemy, being richly embroidered with gold and silver, bearing the sun in the zodiac, with these haughty words, *Nihil obstabit eunte.* On the news of this unexpected victory, the States of Holland sent to congratulate the prince; and to testify how much they valued his preservation, they presented monsieur

D'Auverquerque, who had so bravely rescued him, with a sword, whose handle was of massy gold, set with diamonds. I forgot to mention that this gentleman received a shot on his head at the battle of Seneff; and truly, in all actions, which were many, he nobly distinguished himself by his bravery. He was father of this present earl of Grantham.

The names of the English officers which I knew to be killed in this action.

Lieutenant-colonel Archer,	Captain Pemfield,
Captain Charleton,	Lieutenant Charleton,
Captain Richardson,	Lieutenant Barton,
Captain Fisher,	Ensign Colvile.

With several others, whose names I have forgot.

Lieutenant-colonel Babington, who began the attack by beating the French out of the hop-garden, was taken prisoner. Colonel Hales, who was a long time governor of Chelsea College, being then a captain, received a shot on his leg, of which he went lame to his dying day.

The war thus ended by the peace of Nimeguen, the regiment in which I served was appointed to lie in garrison at the Grave. We lay there near four years, our soldiers being mostly employed about the fortifications. It was here, and by that means, that I imbibed the rudiments of fortification, and the practical part of an engineer, which in my more advanced years was of no small service to me.

Nevertheless, in the year 1684, our regiment received orders to march to Haren, near Brussels; where, with other forces, we encamped, till we heard that Luxemburg, invaded by the French, in a time of the profoundest peace, had surrendered to them. Then we decamped, and marched to Mechlin; where we

lay in the field till near November. Not that there was any war proclaimed, but as not knowing whether those who had committed such acts of hostility in time of peace, might not take it in their heads to proceed yet further. In November we marched into that town, where count Nivelle was governor: the marquis de Grana, at the same time, governing the Netherlands in the jurisdiction of Spain.

Nothing of any moment happened after this, till the death of king Charles II. The summer after which, the three English and three Scotch regiments received orders to pass over into England, upon the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion; where, upon our arrival, we received orders to encamp on Hounslow Heath. But that rebellion being soon stifled, and king James having no further need of us, those regiments were ordered to return again to Holland, into the proper service of those who paid them.

Though I am no stiff adherer to the doctrine of predestination, yet to the full assurance of a providence I never could fail to adhere. Thence came it, that my natural desire to serve my own native country prevailed upon me to quit the service of another, though its neighbour and ally. Events are not always to direct the judgment; and therefore whether I did best in following these fondling dictates of nature, I shall neither question nor determine.

However, it was not long after my arrival in England before I had a commission given me by king James, to be a lieutenant in a new-raised regiment under the command of colonel Tufton, brother to the earl of Thanet. Under this commission I sojourned out two peaceable campaigns on Hounslow Heath, where I was an eyewitness of one mock siege of Buda: after which our regiment was ordered to Berwick, where I remained till the Revolution.

King James having abdicated the throne, and the prince of Orange accepting the administration, all

commissions were ordered to be renewed in his name. The officers of our regiment, as well as others, severally took out theirs accordingly; a very few excepted, of which number was our colonel, who refusing a compliance, his commission was given to sir James Lesley.

The prince of Orange presently after was declared and proclaimed king, and his princess queen, with a conjunctive power. Upon which our regiment was ordered into Scotland, where affairs appeared under a face of disquietude. We had our quarters at Leith, till the time the castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of the duke of Gordon, had surrendered. After which, pursuant to fresh orders, we marched to Inverness, a place of no great strength, and as little beauty; though yet I think I may say, without the least danger of an hyperbole, that it is as pleasant as most places in that country. Here we lay two long winters, perpetually harassed upon parties, and hunting of somewhat wilder than their wildest game, namely, the Highlanders, who were, if not as nimble-footed, yet fully as hard to be found.

But general Mackay having received orders to build a fort at Inverlochy, our regiment, among others, was commanded to that service. The two regiments appointed on the same duty, with some few dragoons, were already on their march, which having joined, we marched together through Louquebar. This sure is the wildest country in the Highlands, if not in the world. I did not see one house in all our march; and their economy, if I may call it such, is much the same with that of the Arabs or Tartars. Huts, or cabins of trees and trash, are their places of habitation, in which they dwell till their half-horned cattle have devoured the grass, and then remove, staying nowhere longer than that convenience invites them.

In this march, or rather, if you please, most dismal peregrination, we could but very rarely go two on a breast, and oftener, like geese in a string, one after

another. So that our very little army had sometimes, or rather most commonly, an extent of many miles; our enemy, the Highlanders, firing down upon us from their summits all the way. Nor was it possible for our men, or very rarely at least, to return their favours with any prospect of success; for as they popped upon us always on a sudden, they never stayed long enough to allow any of our soldiers a mark, or even time enough to fire. And for our men to march or climb up those mountains, which to them were natural champaign, would have been as dangerous as it seemed to us impracticable. Nevertheless, under all these disheartening disadvantages, we arrived at Inverlochy, and there performed the task appointed, building a fort on the same spot where Cromwell had raised one before. And, which was not a little remarkable, we had with us one Hill, a colonel, who had been governor in Oliver's time, and who was now again appointed governor by general Mackay. Thus the work on which we were sent being effected, we marched back again by the way of Gillycrancky, where that memorable battle under Dundee had been fought the year before.

Some time after, sir Thomas Levingston, afterwards earl of Tiviot, having received intelligence that the Highlanders intended to fall down into the lower countries in a considerable body, got together a party of about five hundred, (the dragoons, called the Scotch Greys, inclusive,) with which he resolved, if possible, to give them a meeting. We left Inverness the last day of April, and encamped near a little town called Forrest, the place where, as tradition still confidently avers, the witches met Macbeth, and greeted him with their diabolical auspices. But this story is so naturally displayed in a play of the immortal Shakespeare, that I need not descend here to any further particulars.

Here sir Thomas received intelligence that the Highlanders designed to encamp upon the Spey, near

the laird of Grant's castle. Whereupon we began our march about noon; and the next day, about the break thereof, we came to that river, where we soon discovered the Highlanders, by their fires. Sir Thomas, immediately on sight of it, issued his orders for our fording the river, and falling upon them as soon after as possible. Both were accordingly performed, and with so good order, secrecy, and success, that Cannon and Balfour, their commanders, were obliged to make their escape naked.

They were about one thousand in number, of which were killed about three hundred; we pursued them till they got up Cromdale-hill, where we lost them in a fog. And indeed, so high is that hill, that they who perfectly knew it, assured me that it never is without a little dark fog hanging over it. And to me, at that instant of time, they seemed rather to be people received up into clouds, than flying from an enemy.

Near this there was an old castle, called Lethendy, into which about fifty of them made their retreat, most of them gentlemen, resolving there to defend themselves to the last. Sir Thomas sent a messenger to them, with an offer of mercy, if they would surrender: but they refused the proffered quarter, and fired upon our men, killing two of our grenadiers, and wounding another. During my quarters at the Grave, having learnt to throw a grenado, I took three or four in a bag, and crept down by the side of a ditch, or dyke, to an old thatched house near the castle, imagining, on my mounting the same, I might be near enough to throw them, so as to do execution. I found all things answer my expectation; and the castle wanting a cover, I threw in a grenado, which put the enemy immediately into confusion. The second had not so good success, falling short; and the third burst as soon as it was well out of my hand, though without damage to myself. But throwing the fourth in at a window, it so increased

the confusion which the first had put them into, that they immediately called out to me, upon their parole of safety, to come to them.

Accordingly I went up to the door, which they had barricaded, and made up with great stones; when they told me they were ready to surrender upon condition of obtaining mercy. I returned to sir Thomas; and telling him what I had done, and the consequence of it, and the message they had desired me to deliver (a great many of the Highland gentlemen, not of this party, being with him,) sir Thomas, in a high voice, and broad Scotch, best to be heard and understood, ordered me back to tell them, He would cut them all to pieces, for their murder of two of his grenadiers, after his proffer of quarter.

I was returning, full of these melancholy tidings, when sir Thomas, advancing after me a little distance from the rest of the company; Hark ye, sir, says he, I believe there may be among them some of our old acquaintance (for we had served together in the service of the States in Flanders,) therefore tell them they shall have good quarter. I very willingly carried back a message so much changed to my mind; and upon delivering of it, without the least hesitation, they threw down the barricado, opened the door, and out came one Brody, who, as he then told me, had had a piece of his nose taken off by one of my grenadoes. I carried him to sir Thomas, who confirming my message, they all came out, and surrendered themselves prisoners. This happened on May-day in the morning; for which reason we returned to Inverness with our prisoners, and boughs in our hats; and the Highlanders never held up their heads so high after this defeat.

Upon this success sir Thomas wrote to court, giving a full account of the whole action. In which being pleased to make mention of my behaviour, with some particularities, I had soon after a commission ordered

me for a company in the regiment under the command of brigadier Tiffin.

My commission being made out, signed, and sent to me, I repaired immediately to Portsmouth, where the regiment lay in garrison. A few days after I had been there, admiral Russel arrived with the fleet, and anchored at St. Helen's, where he remained about a week. On the 18th of May the whole fleet set sail; and it being my turn the same day to mount the main guard, I was going the rounds very early, when I heard great shooting at sea. I went directly to acquaint the governor, and told him my sentiments, that the two contending fleets were actually engaged; which indeed proved true, for that very night a pinnace, which came from our fleet, brought news that admiral Russel had engaged the French admiral Turvile; and, after a long and sharp dispute, was making after them to their own coasts.

The next day, towards evening, several other expresses arrived, one after another, all agreeing in the defeat of the French fleet, and in the particulars of the burning their Rising Sun, together with many other of their men of war, at La Hogue. All which expresses were immediately forwarded to court by Mr. Gibson, our governor.

About two months after this, our regiment, among many others, was, according to order, shipped off on a secret expedition, under the command of the duke of Leinster, no man knowing to what place we were going, or on what design; no, not the commander himself. However, when we were out at sea, the general, according to instructions, opening his commission, we were soon put out of our suspense, and informed that our orders were to attack Dunkirk. But what was so grand a secret to those concerned in the expedition, having been intrusted to a female politician on land, it was soon discovered to the enemy; for which reason our orders were countermanded, before we reached the

place of action, and our forces received directions to land at Ostend.

Soon after this happened that memorable battle at Steenkirk, which, as very few at that time could dive into the reason of, and mistaken accounts of it have passed for authentic, I will mention somewhat more particularly: the undertaking was bold; and, as many thought, bolder than was consistent with the character of the wise undertaker. Nevertheless, the French having taken Namur, and, as the malcontents alleged, in the very sight of a superior army, and nothing having been done by land of any moment, things were blown into such a dangerous fermentation, by a malicious and lying spirit, that king William found himself under a necessity of attempting something that might appease the murmurs of the people. He knew very well, though spoke in the senate, that it was not true that his forces at the siege of Namur exceeded those of the enemy; no man could be more afflicted than he at the overflowing of the Mehaigne, from the continual rains, which obstructed the relief he had designed for that important place; yet since his maligners made an ill use of these false topics, to insinuate that he had no mind to put an end to the war, he was resolved to evince the contrary, by showing them that he was not afraid to venture his life for the better obtaining what was so much desired.

To that purpose, receiving intelligence that the duke of Luxemburg lay strongly encamped at Steenkirk, near Enghien, (though he was sensible he must pass through many defiles to engage him, and that the many thickets between the two armies would frequently afford him new difficulties,) he resolved there to attack him. Our troops at first were forced to hew out their passage for the horse; and there was no one difficulty that his imagination had drawn that was lessened by experience; and yet so prosperous were his arms at

the beginning, that our troops had made themselves masters of several pieces of the enemy's cannon. But the further he advanced, the ground growing straighter, so straight as not to admit his army's being drawn up in battalia, the troops behind could not give timely succour to those engaged, and the cannon we had taken was forcibly left behind in order to make a good retreat. The French had lost all their courage in the onset; for though they had too fair an opportunity, they did not think fit to pursue it, or at least did it very languidly. However, the malcontents at home, I remember, grew very well pleased after this; for so long as they had but a battle for their money, like true Englishmen, lost or won, they were contented.

Several causes, I remember, were assigned for this miscarriage, as they called it: some there were who were willing to lay it upon the Dutch; and allege a saying of one of their generals, who, receiving orders to relieve some English and Scotch that were overpowered, was heard to say, Damn 'em, since they love fighting let 'em have their bellies full. But I should rather impute the disappointment to the great loss of so many of our bravest officers at the very first onset. General Mackay, colonel Lanier, the earl of Angus, with both his field-officers, sir Robert Douglas, colonel Hodges, and many others falling, it was enough to put a very considerable army into confusion. I remember one particular action of sir Robert Douglas, that I should think myself to blame should I omit: seeing his colours on the other side the hedge, in the hands of the enemy, he leaped over, slew the officer that had them, and then threw them over the hedge to his company; redeeming his colours at the expense of his life. Thus the Scotch commander improved upon the Roman general; for the brave Posthumius cast his standard in the middle of the enemy for his soldiers to retrieve, but Douglas retrieved his from the middle of the enemy, without

any assistance, and cast it back to his soldiers to retain, after he had so bravely rescued it out of the hands of the enemy.

From hence our regiment received orders to march to Dixmuyd, where we lay some time, employed in fortifying that place. While we were there, I had one morning steadfastly fixed my eyes upon some ducks, that were swimming in a large water before me; when all on a sudden, in the midst of a perfect calm, I observed such a strange and strong agitation in the waters, that prodigiously surprised me. I was at the same moment seized with such a giddiness in my head, that, for a minute or two, I was scarce sensible, and had much ado to keep on my legs. I had never felt anything of an earthquake before, which, as I soon after understood from others, this was; and it left, indeed, very apparent marks of its force in a great rent in the body of the great church, which remains to this day.

Having brought the intended fortifications into some tolerable order, we received a command, out of hand, to re-embark for England. And, upon our landing, directions met us to march for Ipswich, where we had our quarters all that winter. From thence we were ordered up to London, to do duty in the Tower. I had not been there long before an accident happened, as little to be accounted for, without a divine providence, as some would make that providence to be, that only can account for it.

There was at that time, as I was assured by my lord Lucas, constable of it, upwards of twenty thousand barrels of gunpowder in that they call the White Tower, when all at once the middle flooring did not only give way or shrink, but fell flat down upon other barrels of powder, together with many of the same combustible matter which had been placed upon it. It was a providence strangely neglected at that time, and hardly thought of since; but let any considerate man consult the consequences if it had taken fire; perhaps to the de-

struction of the whole city, or, at least, as far as the bridge, and parts adjacent. Let his thoughts proceed to examine why or how, in that precipitate fall, not one nail nor one piece of iron, in that large fabric, should afford one little spark to inflame that mass of sulphurous matter it was loaded with; and if he is at a loss to find a providence, I fear his friends will be more at a loss to find his understanding. But the battle of Landen happening while our regiment was here on duty, we were soon removed, to our satisfaction, from that pacific station to one more active, in Flanders.

Notwithstanding that fatal battle the year preceding, namely, A. D. 1694, the confederate army under king William lay encamped at Mont St. André, an open place, and much exposed; while the French were intrenched up to their very teeth, at Vignamont, a little distance from us. This afforded matter of great reflection to the politicians of those times, who could hardly allow, that if the confederate army suffered so much, as it really did in the battle of Landen, it could consist with right conduct to tempt, or rather dare a new engagement. But those sage objectors had forgot the well-known courage of that brave prince, and were as little capable of fathoming his designs. The enemy, who, to their sorrow, had by experience been made better judges, were resolved to traverse both; for which purpose they kept close within their intrenchments; so that after all his efforts, king William, finding he could no way draw them to a battle, suddenly decamped, and marched directly to Pont Espiers, by long marches, with a design to pass the French lines at that place.

But notwithstanding our army marched in a direct line, to our great surprise, we found the enemy had first taken possession of it. They gave this the name of the Long March, and very deservedly; for though our army marched upon the string, and the enemy upon the bow, sensible of the importance of the post, and the necessity of securing it, by double horsing

with their foot, and by leaving their weary and weak in their garrisons, and supplying their places with fresh men out of them, they gained their point in disappointing us. Though certain it is, that march cost them as many men and horses as a battle. However, their master, the French king, was so pleased with their indefatigable and auspicious diligence, that he wrote, with his own hand, a letter of thanks to the officers, for the great zeal and care they had taken to prevent the confederate army from entering into French Flanders.

King William, thus disappointed in that noble design, gave immediate orders for his whole army to march through Oudenard, and then encamped at Rosendale; after some little stay at that camp we were removed to the Camerlins, between Newport and Ostend, once more to take our winter quarters there among the boors.

We were now in the year 1695, when the strong fortress of Namur, taken by the French in 1692, and since made by them much stronger, was invested by the earl of Athlone. After very many vigorous attacks, with the loss of many men, the town was taken, the garrison retiring into the castle. Into which, soon after, notwithstanding all the circumspection of the besiegers, mareschal Boufflers found means, with some dragoons, to throw himself.

While king William was thus engaged in that glorious and important siege, prince Vaudemont being posted at Watergaem with about fifty battalions and as many squadrons, the mareschal Villeroy laid a design to attack him with the whole French army. The prince imagined no less, therefore he prepared accordingly, giving us orders to fortify our camp, as well as the little time we had for it would permit. Those orders were pursued; nevertheless, I must confess, it was beyond the reach of my little reason to account for our so long stay in the sight of an army so

much superior to ours. The prince in the whole could hardly muster thirty thousand; and Villeroy was known to value himself upon having one hundred thousand effective men. However, the prince provisionally sent away all our baggage that very morning to Ghent, and still made show as if he resolved to defend himself to the last extremity in our little intrenchments. The enemy on their side began to surround us; and, in their motions for that purpose, blew up little bags of gunpowder, to give the readier notice how far they had accomplished it. Another captain, with myself, being placed on the right, with one hundred men, (where I found monsieur Montal endeavouring if possible to get behind us,) I could easily observe they had so far attained their aim of encompassing us, as to the very fashion of a horse's shoe. This made me fix my eyes so intently upon the advancing enemy, that I never minded what my friends were doing behind me; though I afterwards found that they had been filing off so very artfully and privately, by that narrow opening of the horse-shoe, that when the enemy imagined us past a possibility of escape, our little army at once, and of a sudden, was ready to disappear. There was a large wood on the right of our army, through which lay the road to Ghent, not broader than to admit of more than four to march abreast. Down this the prince had slid his forces, except to that very small party which the captain and myself commanded, and which was designedly left to bring up the rear. Nor did we stir till captain Collier, then aid-de-camp to his brother, now earl of Portmore, came with the word of command for us to draw off.

When Villeroy was told of our retreat, he was much surprised, as thinking it a thing utterly impossible. However, at last, being sensible of the truth of it, he gave orders for our rear to be attacked; but we kept firing from ditch to ditch, and hedge to hedge, till night came upon us; and so our little army got

clear of its gigantic enemy with very inconsiderable loss. However, the French failed not, in their customary way, to express the sense of their vexation at this disappointment, with fire and sword in the neighbourhood round. Thus prince Vaudemont acquired more glory by that retreat than an entire victory could have given him; and it was not, I confess, the least part of satisfaction in life, that myself had a share of honour under him to bring off the rear at that his glorious retreat at Arseel.

However, in further revenge of this political chicane of the prince of Vaudemont, and to oblige, if possible, king William to raise the siege from before Namur, Villeroy entered into the resolution of bombarding Brussels. In order to which he encamped at Anderleck, and then made his approaches as near as was convenient to the town. There he caused to be planted thirty mortars, and raised a battery of ten guns to shoot hot bullets into the place.

But before they fired from either, Villeroy, in compliment to the duke of Bavaria, sent a messenger to know in what part of the town his duchess chose to reside, that they might, as much as possible, avoid incommoding her, by directing their fire to other parts. Answer was returned, that she was at her usual place of residence, the palace; and accordingly their firing from battery or mortars little incommoded them that way.

Five days the bombardment continued; and with such fury, that the centre of that noble city was quite laid in rubbish. Most of the time of bombarding I was upon the counterscarp, where I could best see and distinguish; and I have often counted in the air, at one time, more than twenty bombs; for they shot whole volleys out of their mortars all together. This, as it must needs be terrible, threw the inhabitants into the utmost confusion. Cart-loads of nuns, that for many years before had never been out of the cloister, were

now hurried about from place to place, to find retreats of some security. In short, the groves, and parts remote, were all crowded; and the most spacious streets had hardly a spectator left to view the ruins. Nothing was to be seen like that dexterity of our people in extinguishing the fires; for where the red-hot bullets fell, and raised new conflagrations, not burghers only, but the vulgar sort, stood staring, and, with their hands impocketed, beheld their houses gradually consume; and without offering prudent or charitable hand to stop the growing flames.

But after they had almost thus destroyed that late fair city, Villeroy, finding he could not raise the siege of Namur by that vigorous attack upon Brussels, decamped at last from before it, and put his army on the march towards Namur, to try if he could have better success by exposing to show his pageant of one hundred thousand men. Prince Vaudemont had timely intelligence of the duke's resolution and motion: and resolved, if possible, to get there before him. Nor was the attempt fruitless; he fortunately succeeded, though with much fatigue, and no little difficulty, after he had put a trick upon the spies of the enemy by pretending to encamp, and, so soon as they were gone, ordering a full march.

The castle of Namur had been all this time under the fire of the besiegers' cannon; and soon after our little army under the prince was arrived, a breach, that was imagined practicable, being made in the Terra Nova (which, as the name imports, was a new work, raised by the French, and added to the fortifications, since it fell into their hands in 1692, and which very much increased the strength of the whole), a breach, as I have said, being made in this Terra Nova, a storm, in a council of war, was resolved upon. Four entire regiments, in conjunction with some draughts made out of several others, were ordered for that work, myself commanding that part of them which had been drawn out of colonel Tiffin's. We were all to rendez-

vous at the abbey of Salsines, under the command of the lord Cutts; the signal when the attack was to be made, being agreed to be the blowing up of a bag of gunpowder upon the bridge of boats that lay over the Sambre.

So soon as the signal was made, we marched up to the breach with a decent intrepidity; receiving, all the way we advanced, the full fire of the Cohorn fort. But as soon as we came near enough to mount, we found it vastly steep and rugged. Notwithstanding all which, several did get up, and entered the breach; but not being supported as they ought to have been, they were all made prisoners; which, together with a wound my lord Cutts received, after we had done all that was possible for us, necessitated us to retire with the loss of many of our men.

Villeroy all this while lay in sight, with his army of one hundred thousand men, without making the least offer to incommode the besiegers; or even without doing anything more than make his appearance in favour of the besieged, and reconnoitering our encampment; and, at last, seeing, or imagining that he saw, the attempt would be to little purpose, with all the good manners in the world, in the night, he withdrew that terrible meteor, and relieved our poor horses from feeding on leaves, the only inconvenience he had put us to.

This retreat leaving the garrison without all hope of relief, they in the castle immediately capitulated. But after one of the gates had been, according to articles, delivered up, and count Guiscard was marching out at the head of the garrison, and Bouflers at the head of the dragoons, the latter was, by order of king William, arrested, in reprize of the garrison of Dixmuyd (who, contrary to the cartel, had been detained prisoners), and remained under arrest till they were set free.

At the very beginning of the year 1696 was discovered a plot, fit only to have had its origin from hell

or Rome: a plot which would have put Hottentots and barbarians out of countenance. This was called the Assassination Plot, from the design of it, which was, to have assassinated king William a little before the time of his usual leaving England to head the army of the confederates in Flanders. And as nothing could give a nobler idea of the great character of that prince than such a nefarious combination against him; so, with all considerate men, nothing could more depreciate the cause of his inconsiderate enemies. If I remember what I have read, the sons of ancient Rome, though heathens, behaved themselves against an enemy in a quite different manner. Their historians afford us more instances than a few, of their generous intimations to kings and generals, under actual hostilities, of barbarous designs upon their lives. I proceed to this of our own countrymen.

Soon after the discovery had been made, by persons actually engaged in that inhuman design, the regiment in which I served, with some others then in Flanders, received orders, with all expedition, to embark for England; though, on our arrival at Gravesend, fresh orders met us to remain on board the transports till we had further directions.

On my going to London, a few days after, I was told that two regiments only were now designed to come ashore; and that the rest would be remanded to Flanders, the danger apprehended being pretty well over. I was at Whitehall when I received this notice; where, meeting my lord Cutts, (who had, ever since the storming of the Terra Nova at Namur, allowed me a share in his favour,) he expressed himself in the most obliging manner; and, at parting, desired he might not fail of seeing me next morning at his house, for he had somewhat of an extraordinary nature to communicate to me.

At the time appointed, I waited on his lordship, where I met Mr. Steel (now sir Richard, and at that

time his secretary), who immediately introduced me. I found in company with him three gentlemen; and after common salutations, his lordship delivered into my hands an order from the king in council to go along with captain Porter, Mr. de la Rue, and Mr. George Harris, (who proved to be those three with him,) to search all the transports at Gravesend, in order to prevent any of the conspirators getting out of England that way. After answering that I was ready to pay obedience, and receiving, in private, the further necessary instructions, we took our leave, and oars soon after for Gravesend. It was in our passage down, that I understood that they had all been of the conspiracy, but now reluctant, were become witnesses.

When we came to Gravesend, I produced my authority to the commanding officer, who very readily paid obedience, and gave assistance; but after our most diligent search, finding nothing of what we looked for, we returned that very night to London.

Next day a proclamation was to come out for the apprehending three of four troopers, who were sent over by king James, with 1,000*l.* reward for each; Mr. George Harris, who was the fourth, being the only evidence against the other three. No sooner were we returned from Gravesend, but Harris had intelligence brought him, that Cassells, one of the three, was at Mr. Allen's in the Savoy, under the name of Green. Upon which we went directly to the place; and inquiring for Mr. Green, we were told he lodged there, and was in his room.

I was obliged by my order to go along with them, and assist them; and very well was it that I was so: for in consideration of the reward in the proclamation, which, as I have said, was to come out the next day, Harris and the rest were for deferring his seizure, till the coming out of that proclamation; but making answer, that in case of his escape that night, I must be responsible to my superiors, who, under the most fa-

vourable aspect, would construe it a neglect of duty, they were forced to comply; and so he was taken up, and his name that night struck out of the proclamation. It is very true, by this faithful discharge of my trust, I did save the government 1,000*l.*; but it is equally so, that I never had of my governors one farthing consideration for what others termed an over-officious piece of service; though in justice it must be owned a piece of exact and disinterested duty.

Some few days after, attending by direction at the secretary's office, with Mr. Harris, there came in a Dutchman, spluttering and making a great noise, that he was sure he could discover one of the conspirators; but the mien and the behaviour of the man, would not give anybody leave to give him any credit or regard. However, the man persisting in his assertions, I spoke to Mr. Harris to take him aside, and ask him what sort of a person he was: Harris did so; and the Dutchman describing him, says Harris, returning to me, I'll be hanged if it be not Blackburn. Upon which we had him questioned somewhat more narrowly; when having no room to doubt, and understanding where he was, colonel Rivet of the guards was sent for, and ordered to go along with us to seize him. We went accordingly; and it proving to be Blackburn, the Dutchman had 500*l.*, and the colonel and others the remainder. Cassels and Blackburn, if still alive, are in Newgate, confined by act of parliament, one only witness, which was Harris, being producible against them.

When Blackburn was seized, I found in the chamber with him, one Davison, a watchmaker, living in Holborn. I carried him along with me to the secretary of state; but nothing on his examination appearing against him, he was immediately discharged. He offered afterwards to present me with a fine watch of his own making, which I refused; and he long after owned the obligation.

So soon as the depth of this plot was fathomed, and

the intended evil provided against as well as prevented, king William went over into Flanders, and our regiment thereupon received orders for their immediate return. Nothing of any moment occurred till our arrival at our old quarters, the Camerlins, where we lay dispersed amongst the country boors or farmers, as heretofore. However, for our better security in those quarters, and to preserve us from the excursions of the neighbouring garrison of Furnes, we were obliged to keep an outguard at a little place called Shoerbeck. This guard was every forty-eight hours changed and remounted with a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and threescore men.

When it came to my turn to relieve that guard, (and for that purpose I was arrived at my post,) it appeared to me with the face of a place of debauch, rather than business; there being too visible tokens that the hard duty of both officers and soldiers had been that of hard drinking. the foulest error that a soldier can commit, especially when on his guard.

To confirm my apprehensions, a little after I had taken possession of my guard, the man of the house related to me such passages, and so many of them, that satisfied me that if ten sober men had made the attack, they might have fairly knocked all my predecessors of the last guard on the head without much difficulty. However, his account administered matter of caution to me, and put me upon taking a narrower view of our situation. In consequence whereof, at night, I placed a sentinel a quarter of a mile in the rear, and such other sentinels as I thought necessary and convenient in other places; with orders, that upon sight of an enemy the sentinel near should fire; and that upon hearing that, all the other sentinels as well as he, should hasten in to strengthen our main guard.

What my jealousy, on my landlord's relation, had suggested, happened accordingly. For about one in the morning I was alarmed with the cry of one of my

sentinels, Turn out, for God's sake; which he repeated with vehemence three or four times over. I took the alarm, got up suddenly, and with no little difficulty got my men into the ranks, when the person who made the outcry came running in, almost spent, and out of breath. It was the sentinel that I had luckily placed about a quarter of a mile off who gave the alarm, and his musket flashing in the pan without going off, he endeavoured to supply with his voice the defect of his piece. I had just got my men into their ranks, in order to receive the enemy, when, by the moonlight, I discovered a party advancing upon us. My out-sentinel challenged them, and, as I had precautioned, they answered, Hispanioli; though I knew them to be French.

However, on my survey of our situation by daylight, having marked in my mind a proper place for drawing up my men in case of an attack, which was too narrow to admit of more than two on a breast, and which would secure between us and the enemy a ditch of water; I resolved to put in practice what had entertained me so well in the theory. To that purpose I ordered my first rank to keep their post, stand still and face the enemy, while the other two ranks stooping, should follow me to gain the intended station; which done, the first rank had orders to file off and fall behind. All was performed in excellent order; and I confess it was with no little pleasure that I beheld the enemy, for the best part of an hour, in consultation whether they should attack us or no. The result, nevertheless, of that consultation ended in this; that, seeing us so well upon our guard, it was most advisable to draw off. They soon put their resolution into practice, which I was very glad to see; on examination a little before, having found that my predecessor, as in other things, had failed of conduct, in leaving me a garrison without ammunition.

Next morning I was very pleasingly surprised with

a handsome present of wine, and some other necessary refreshments. At first I made a little scruple and hesitation whether or no to receive them; till the bearer assured me that they were sent me from the officers of the next garrison, who had made me a visit the night before, as a candid acknowledgment of my conduct and good behaviour. I returned their compliment, that I hoped I should never receive men of honour otherwise than like a man of honour; which mightily pleased them. Every of which particulars the Ghent Gazetteer the week after published.

We had little to do except marching and countermarching all the campaign after; till it was resolved in a council of war, for the better preserving of Brussels from such insults as it had before sustained from the French, during the siege of Namur, to fortify Anderlech; upon which our regiment, as well as others, were commanded from our more pacific posts to attend that work. Our whole army was under movement to cover that resolution; and the train fell to my care and command in the march. There accompanied the train, a fellow, seemingly ordinary, yet very officious and courteous, being ready to do anything for any person, from the officer to the common soldier. He travelled along and moved with the train, sometimes on foot, and sometimes getting a ride in some one or other of the waggons; but ever full of his chit-chat and stories of humour. By these insinuating ways he had screwed himself into the general good opinion; but the waggoners especially grew particularly fond of him. At the end of our march all our powder-waggons were placed breast-a-breast, and so close, that one miscarrying would leave little doubt of the fate of all the rest. This, in the camp, we commonly call the Park; and here it was that our new guest, like another Phaeton, though under pretence of weariness, not ambition, got leave of the very last carter to the train to take a nap in his waggon. One who had entertained a jealousy

of him and had watched him, gave information against him; upon which he was seized and brought to me as captain of the guard. I caused him to be searched; and, upon search, finding match, touchwood, and other dangerous materials upon him, I sent him and them away to the provoe. Upon the whole, a council of war was called, at which, upon a strict examination, he confessed himself a hired incendiary; and as such received his sentence to be burnt in the face of the army. The execution was a day or two after, when, on the very spot, he further acknowledged, that on sight or noise of the blow, it had been concerted that the French army should fall upon the confederates under those lamentable circumstances.

The peace of Riswick soon after taking place, put an end to all incendiarisms of either sort. So that nothing of a military kind, which was now become my province, happened of some years after. Our regiment was first ordered into England, and presently after into Ireland. But as these Memoirs are not designed for the low amusement of a tea-table, but rather of the cabinet, a series of inglorious inactivity can furnish but very little towards them.

Yet as little as I admired a life of inactivity, there are some sorts of activity to which a wise man might almost give supineness the preference. Such is that of barely encountering elements, and waging war with nature; and such, in my opinion, would have been the spending my commission, and very probably my life with it, in the West Indies. For though the climate, as some would urge, may afford a chance for a very speedy advance in honour, yet, upon revolving in my mind, that those rotations of the wheel of fortune are often so very quick, as well as uncertain, that I myself might as well be the first as the last; the whole of the debate ended in somewhat like that couplet of the excellent Hudibras:—

Then he, that ran away and fled,
Must lie in honour's trucklebed.

However, my better planets soon disannulled those melancholy ideas, which a rumour of our being sent into the West Indies had crowded my head and heart with. For being called over into England upon the very affairs of the regiment, I arrived there just after the orders for their transportation went over; by which means the choice of going was put out of my power, and the danger of refusing, which was the case of many, was very likely avoided.

It being judged, therefore, impossible for me to return soon enough to gain my passage, one in power proposed to me that I should resign to an officer then going over; and with some other contingent advantages, to my great satisfaction I was put upon the half-pay list. This was more agreeable, for I knew, or at least imagined myself wise enough to foretell, from the over-hot debate of the house of commons upon the partition treaty, that it could not be long before the present peace would at least require patching.

Under this sort of uncertain settlement I remained with the patience of a jew, though not with judaical absurdity, a faithful adherer to my expectation. Nor did the consequence fail of answering; a war was apparent, and soon after proclaimed. Thus, waiting for an opportunity which I flattered myself would soon present, the little diversions of Dublin, and the moderate conversation of that people, were not of temptation enough to make my stay in England look like a burden.

But though the war was proclaimed, and preparations accordingly made for it, the expectations from all received a sudden damp by the as sudden death of king William. That prince, who had stared death in the face in many sieges and battles, met with his fate in the midst of his diversions, who seized his prize in an

hour, to human thought, the least adapted to it. He was a hunting, his customary diversion, when, by an unhappy trip of his horse, he fell to the ground; and in the fall displaced his collar-bone. The news of it immediately alarmed the court and all around; and the sad effects of it soon after gave all Europe the like alarm. France only, who had not disdained to seek it sooner by ungenerous means, received new hope from what gave others motives for despair. He flattered himself, that that long-lived obstacle to his ambition thus removed, his successor would never fall into those measures which he had wisely concerted for the liberties of Europe; but he, as well as others of his adherents, was gloriously deceived. That godlike queen, with a heart entirely English, prosecuted her royal predecessor's counsels; and, to remove all the very faces of jealousy, immediately on her accession despatched to every court of the great confederacy, persons adequate to the importance of the message, to give assurances thereof.

This gave new spirit to a cause that at first seemed to languish in its founder, as it struck its great opposers with a no less mortifying terror. And well did the great successes of her arms answer the prayers and efforts of that royal soul of the confederacies, together with the wishes of all that, like her, had the good, as well as the honour of their country at heart, in which the liberties of Europe were included. The first campaign gave a noble earnest of the future. Bon, Keyserwaert, Venlo, and Ruremond, were found forerunners only of Donawert, Hochstet, and Blenheim. Such a march of English forces to the support of the tottering empire, as it gloriously manifested the ancient genius of a warlike people, so was it happily celebrated with a success answerable to the glory of the undertaking, which concluded in statues and princely donatives to an English subject, from the then only emperor in Europe. A small tribute, it is true. for ransomed

nations and captived armies, which justly enough inverted the exclamations of a Roman emperor to the French monarch, who deprecated his legions lost pretty near the same spot; but to a much superior number, and on a much less glorious occasion.

But my good fortune not allowing me to participate in those glorious appendages of the English arms in Flanders, nor on the Rhine, I was resolved to make a push for it the first opportunity, and waste my minutes no longer on court attendances; and my lord Cutts returning with his full share of laurels for his never to be forgotten services at Venlo, Ruremond, and Hochstet, found his active genius now to be reposed under the less agreeable burden of unhazardous honour, where quiet must provide a tomb for one already past any danger of oblivion; deep wounds and glorious actions having anticipated all that could be said in epitaphs or literal inscriptions. Soon after his arrival from Germany he was appointed general of all her majesty's forces in Ireland; upon which, going to congratulate him, he was pleased to inquire of me several things relating to that country, and particularly in what part of Dublin I would recommend his residence; offering at the same time, if I would go over with him, all the services that should fall in his way.

But inactivity was a thing I had too long lamented; therefore, after I had, as decently as I could, declined the latter part, I told his lordship that as to a place of residence, I was master of a house in Dublin, large enough, and suitable to his great quality, which should be at his service on any terms he thought fit. Adding, withal, that I had a mind to see Spain, where my lord Peterborow was now going; and that if his lordship would favour me with a recommendation, it would suit my present inclinations much better than any further tedious recess. His lordship was so good to close with both my overtures; and spoke so effectually in my favour that the earl of Peterborow, then general of all

the forces ordered on that expedition, bade me speedily prepare myself; and so, when all things were ready, I embarked with that noble lord for Spain, to pursue his well-concerted undertaking; which, in the event, will demonstrate to the world that little armies, under the conduct of auspicious generals, may sometimes produce prodigious effects.

The jews, in whatever part of the world, are a people industrious in the increasing of mammon; and, being accustomed to the universal methods of gain, are always esteemed best qualified for any undertaking where that bears a probability of being a perquisite. Providing bread, and other requisites for an army, was ever allowed to carry along with it a profit answerable; and Spain was not the first country where that people had engaged in such an undertaking. Besides, on any likely appearance of great advantage, it is in the nature as well as practice of that race, strenuously to assist one another, and that with the utmost confidence and prodigious alacrity. One of that number, both competent and willing enough to carry on an undertaking of that kind, fortunately came at that juncture to solicit the earl of Peterborow to be employed as proveditor to the army and troops, which were, or should be, sent into Spain.

It will easily be admitted that the earl, under his present exigencies, did not decline to listen. And a very considerable sum being offered by way of advance, the method common in like cases was pursued, and the sum proposed accepted; by which means the earl of Peterborow found himself put into the happy capacity of proceeding upon his first concerted project. The name of the jew who signed the contract was Curtisos; and he and his friends, with great punctuality, advanced the expected sum of 100,000*l.* sterling, or very near it; which was immediately ordered into the hands of the paymaster of the forces; for though the earl took money of the jews, it was not for his own, but public use. According to agreement, bills were drawn for the

value from Lisbon, upon the lord Godolphin, then lord-treasurer, all which were, on that occasion, punctually complied with.

The earl of Peterborow having thus fortunately found means to supply himself with money, and by that with some horse, after he had obtained leave of the lord Galloway to make an exchange of two regiments of foot, received the archduke, and all those who would follow him, aboard the fleet; and, at his own expense, transported him and his whole retinue to Barcelona: for all which prodigious charge, as I have been very lately informed, from very good hands, that noble earl never to this day received any consideration from the government, or any person whatsoever.

We sailed from Lisbon, in order to join the squadron under sir Cloudsley Shovel: meeting with which at the appointed station off Tangier, the men-of-war and transports thus, united made the best of their way for Gibraltar. There we staid no longer than to take aboard two regiments out of that garrison, in lieu of two out of our fleet. Here we found the prince of Hesse, who immediately took a resolution to follow the archduke in this expedition. He was a person of great gallantry, and having been viceroy of Catalonia, was received on board the fleet with the utmost satisfaction, as being a person capable of doing great service in a country where he was well known, and as well beloved.

Speaking Latin then pretty fluently, it gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with the two father-confessors of the duke of Austria; and upon that account I found myself honoured with some share in the favour of the archduke himself. I mention this, not to gratify any vain humour, but as a corroborating circumstance, that my opportunities of information, in matters of consequence, could not thereby be supposed to be lessened; but that I might more reasonably be

imagined to arrive at intelligence, that not very often, or at least not so soon, came to the knowledge of others.

From Gibraltar we sailed to the bay of Altea, not far distant from the city of Valencia, in the road of which we continued for some days. While we were there, as I was very credibly informed, the earl of Peterborow met with some fresh disappointment; but what it was, neither I nor anybody else, as far as I could perceive, could ever dive into: neither did it appear by any outward tokens in that noble general, that it lay so much at his heart as those about him seemed to assure me it did.

However, while we lay at Altea bay, two bomb-vessels and a small squadron were ordered against Denia, which had a small castle; but rather fine than strong. And, accordingly, upon our offer to bring to bear with our cannon, and preparing to fix our bomb-vessels, in order to bombard the place, it surrendered; and acknowledged the archduke as lawful king of Spain, and so proclaimed him. From this time, therefore, speaking of that prince, it shall be under that title. General Ramos was left commander here; a person who afterwards acted a very extraordinary part in the war carried on in the kingdom of Valencia.

But notwithstanding no positive resolutions had been taken for the operations of the campaign, before the archduke's departure from Lisbon, the earl of Peterborow, ever solicitous of the honour of his country, had premeditated another enterprise, which, had it been embraced, would, in all probability, have brought that war to a much more speedy conclusion; and at the same time have obviated all those difficulties, which were but too apparent in the siege of Barcelona. He had justly and judiciously weighed, that there were no forces in the middle parts of Spain, all their troops being the extreme parts of the kingdom, either on the fron-

tiers of Portugal, or in the city of Barcelona; that with king Philip and the royal family at Madrid there were only some few horse, and those in bad condition, and which only served for guards; if therefore, as he rightly projected within himself, by the taking of Valencia, or any seaport town that might have secured his landing, he had marched directly for Madrid; what could have opposed him? But I shall have occasion to dilate more upon this head a few pages hence; and therefore shall here only say, that though that project of his might have brought about a speedy and wonderful revolution, what he was by his orders afterwards obliged, against his inclinations, to pursue, contributed much more to his great reputation, as it put him under a frequent necessity of overcoming difficulties, which to any other general would have appeared insurmountable.

Valencia is a city towards the centre of Spain, to the seaward, seated in a rich and most populous country, just fifty leagues from Madrid. It abounds in horses and mules, by reason of the great fertility of its lands, which they can, to great advantage, water when and as they please. This city and kingdom was as much inclined to the interest of king Charles as Catalonia itself; for, even on our first appearance, great numbers of people came down to the bay of Altea, with not only a bare offer of their services, but loaded with all manner of provisions, and loud acclamations of *Viva Carlos tercero, Viva.* There were no regular troops in any of the places round about it, or in the city itself. The nearest were those few horse in Madrid, one hundred and fifty miles distant; nor any foot nearer than Barcelona, or the frontiers of Portugal.

On the contrary, Barcelona is one of the largest and most populous cities in all Spain, fortified with bastions; one side thereof is secured by the sea, and the other by a strong fortification called Monjouick. The place is of so large a circumference, that thirty thou-

sand men would scarce suffice to form the lines of circumvallation. It once resisted for many months an army of that force; and is almost at the greatest distance from England of any place belonging to that monarchy.

This short description of these two places will appear highly necessary, if it be considered, that no person without it would be able to judge of the design which the earl of Peterborow intended to pursue, when he first took the archduke aboard the fleet. Nevertheless, the earl now found himself under necessity of quitting that noble design, upon his receipt of orders from England, while he lay in the bay of Altea, to proceed directly to Catalonia; to which the archduke, as well as many sea and land officers, were most inclined; and the prince of Hesse more than all the rest.

On receiving those orders, the earl of Peterborow seemed to be of opinion that, from an attempt which he thought under a probability of success, he was condemned to undertake what was next to an impossibility of effecting; since nothing appeared to him so injudicious as an attempt upon Barcelona. A place at such a distance from receiving any reinforcement or relief; the only place in which the Spaniards had a garrison of regular forces; and those in number rather exceeding the army he was to undertake the siege with, was enough to cool the ardour of a person of less penetration and zeal than what the earl had on all occasions demonstrated. Whereas, if the general, as he intended, had made an immediate march to Madrid, after he had secured Valencia and the towns adjacent, which were all ready to submit and declare for king Charles; or, if otherwise inclined, had it not in their power to make any considerable resistance; to which, if it be added, that he could have mules and horses immediately provided for him in what number he pleased, together with carriages necessary for artillery, baggage, and ammunition; in few days he could have forced king Philip

out of Madrid, where he had so little force to oppose him. And as there was nothing in his way to prevent or obstruct his marching thither, it is hard to conceive any other part king Philip could have acted in such an extremity, than to retire either towards Portugal or Catalonia. In either of which cases, he must have left all the middle part of Spain open to the pleasure of the enemy; who, in the mean time, would have had it in their power to prevent any communication of those bodies at such opposite extremes of the country, as were the frontiers of Portugal and Barcelona, where only, as I said before, were any regular troops.

And, on the other side, as the forces of the earl of Peterborow were more than sufficient for an attempt where there was so little danger of opposition; so if their army on the frontiers of Portugal should have marched back upon him into the country, either the Portuguese army could have entered into Spain without opposition, or, at worst, supposing the general had been forced to retire, his retreat would have been easy and safe into those parts of Valencia and Andaluzia, which he previously had secured. Besides, Gibraltar, the strongest place in Spain, if not in the whole world, was already in our possession, and a great fleet at hand ready to give assistance in all places near the sea. From all which it is pretty apparent, that in a little time the war on our side might have been supported without entering the Mediterranean; by which means all reinforcements would have been much nearer at hand, and the expenses of transporting troops and ammunition very considerably diminished.

But none of these arguments, though every one of them is founded on solid reason, were of force enough against the prevailing opinion for an attempt upon Catalonia. Mr. Crow, agent for the queen in those parts, had sent into England most positive assurances that nothing would be wanting, if once our fleet made an invasion amongst the Catalans; the prince of Hesse like-

wise abounded in mighty offers and prodigious assurances; all which enforced our army to that part of Spain, and that gallant prince to those attempts in which he lost his life. Very much against the inclination of our general, who foresaw all those difficulties, which were no less evident afterwards to every one; and the sense of which occasioned those delays, and that opposition to any effort upon Barcelona, which ran through so many successive councils of war.

However, pursuant to his instructions from England, the repeated desires of the archduke, and the importunities of the prince of Hesse, our general gave orders to sail from Altea towards the bay of Barcelona, the chief city of Catalonia. Nevertheless, when we arrived there, he was very unwilling to land any of the forces, till he saw some probability of that assistance and succour so much boasted of, and so often promised. But as nothing appeared but some small numbers of men very indifferently armed, and without either gentlemen or officers at the head of them, the earl of Peterborow was of opinion, this could not be deemed sufficient encouragement for him to engage in an enterprise, which carried so poor a face of probability of success along with it. In answer to this it was urged, that till a descent was made, and the affair thoroughly engaged in, it was not to be expected that any great numbers would appear, or that persons of condition would discover themselves. Upon all which it was resolved the troops should be landed.

Accordingly, our forces were disembarked, and immediately encamped; notwithstanding which, the number of succours increased very slowly, and that after the first straggling manner. Nor were those that did appear any way to be depended on; coming when they thought fit, and going away when they pleased, and not to be brought under any regular discipline. It was then pretended, that until they saw the artillery landed as well as forces, they would not believe any

siege actually intended. This brought the general under a sort of necessity of complying in that also. Though certainly so to do must be allowed a little unreasonable, while the majority in all councils of war declared the design to be impracticable; and the earl of Peterborow had positive orders to proceed according to such majorities.

At last the prince of Hesse was pleased to demand pay for those stragglers, as officers and soldiers, endeavouring to maintain that it could not be expected that men should venture their lives for nothing. Thus we came to Catalonia upon assurances of universal assistance; but found, when we came there, that we were to have none unless we paid for it. And as we were sent thither without money to pay for anything, it had certainly been for us more tolerable to have been in a country where we might have taken by force what we could not obtain any other way.

However, to do the Miquelets all possible justice, I must say, that notwithstanding the number of them which hovered about the place, never much exceeded fifteen hundred men; if sometimes more, oftener less; and though they never came under any command, but planted themselves where and as they pleased, yet did they considerable service in taking possession of all the country houses, and convents, that lay between the hills and the plain of Barcelona; by means whereof they rendered it impossible for the enemy to make any sorties or sallies at any distance from the town.

And now began all those difficulties to bear, which long before, by the general, had been apprehended. The troops had continued under a state of inactivity for the space of three weeks, all which was spent in perpetual contrivances and disputes amongst ourselves, not with the enemy. In six several councils of war the siege of Barcelona, under the circumstances we then lay, was rejected as a madness and impossibility. And

though the general and brigadier Stanhope (afterward earl Stanhope) consented to some effort, yet it was rather that some effort should be made to satisfy the expectation of the world, than with any hopes of success. However, no consent at all could be obtained from any council of war; and the Dutch general, in particular, declared that he would not obey even the commands of the earl of Peterborow, if he should order the sacrifice of the troops under him in so unjustifiable a manner, without the consent of a council of war.

And yet all those officers who refused their consent to the siege of Barcelona, offered to march into the country, and attempt any other place that was not provided with so strong and numerous a garrison; taking it for granted that no town in Catalonia, Barcelona excepted, could make long resistance; and in case the troops in that garrison should pursue them, they then might have an opportunity of fighting them at less disadvantage in the open field, than behind the walls of a place of such strength. And, indeed, should they have issued out on any such design, a defeat of those troops would have put the province of Catalonia, together with the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, into the hands of king Charles more effectually than the taking of Barcelona itself.

Let it be observed, *en passant*, that by those offers of the land officers in a council of war, it is easy to imagine what would have been the success of our troops had they marched directly from Valencia to Madrid. For if after two months alarm, it was thought reasonable, as well as practicable, to march into the open country rather than attempt the siege of Barcelona, where forces equal, if not superior in number, were ready to follow us at the heels; what might not have been expected from an invasion by our troops when and where they could meet with little opposition? But leaving the consideration of what might have been, I shall

now endeavour, at least with great exactness, to set down some of the most remarkable events from our taking to the relief of Barcelona.

The repeated refusals of the councils of war for undertaking the siege of so strong a place, with a garrison so numerous, and those refusals grounded upon such solid reasons, against a design so rash, reduced the general to the utmost perplexity. The court of king Charles was immerged in complaint; all belonging to him lamenting the hard fate of that prince, to be brought into Catalonia only to return again, without the offer of any one effort in his favour. On the other hand, our own officers and soldiers were highly dissatisfied that they were reproached, because not disposed to enter upon and engage themselves in impossibilities. And, indeed, in the manner that the siege was proposed and insisted upon by the prince of Hesse, in every of the several councils of war, after the loss of many men thrown away to no other purpose, but to avoid the shame, as the expression ran, of coming like fools and going away like cowards, it could have ended in nothing but a retreat at last.

It afforded but small comfort to the earl to have foreseen all these difficulties, and to have it in his power to say, that he would never have taken the archduke on board, nor have proposed to him the hopes of a recovery of the Spanish monarchy from king Philip, if he could have imagined it probable, that he should not have been at liberty to pursue his own design, according to his own judgment. It must be allowed very hard for him, who had undertaken so great a work, and that without any orders from the government; and by so doing could have had no justification but by success; I say, it must be allowed to be very hard, after the undertaking had been approved in England, that he should find himself to be directed in this manner by those at a distance, upon ill-grounded and confident reports from Mr. Crow; and compelled, as it were, though ge-

neral, to follow the sentiments of strangers, who either had private views of ambition, or had no immediate care or concern for the troops employed in this expedition.

Such were the present unhappy circumstances of the earl of Peterborow in the camp before Barcelona:—impossibilities proposed; no expedients to be accepted; a court reproaching; councils of war rejecting; and the Dutch general refusing the assistance of the troops under his command; and, what surmounted all, a despair of bringing such animosities and differing opinions to any tolerable agreement. Yet all these difficulties, instead of discouraging the earl, set every faculty of his more afloat; and, at last, produced a lucky thought, which was happily attended with events extraordinary and scenes of success much beyond his expectation; such as the general himself was heard to confess, it had been next to folly to have looked for; as certainly, *in prima facie*, it would hardly have borne proposing, to take by surprise a place much stronger than Barcelona itself. True it is, that his only hope of succeeding consisted in this: that no person could suppose such an enterprise could enter into the imagination of man; and, without doubt, the general's chief dependence lay upon what he found true in the sequel; that the governor and garrison of Monjouick, by reason of their own security, would be very negligent, and very little upon their guard.

However, to make the experiment, he took an opportunity, unknown to any person but an aid-de-camp that attended him, and went out to view the fortifications; and there being no horse in that strong fortress, and the Miquelets being possessed of all the houses and gardens in the plain, it was not difficult to give himself that satisfaction, taking his way by the foot of the hill. The observation he made of the place itself, the negligence and supineness of the garrison, together with his own uneasy circumstances, soon brought the

earl to a resolution of putting his first conceptions in execution; satisfied as he was, from the situation of the ground between Monjouick and the town, that if the first was in our possession, the siege of the latter might be undertaken with some prospect of success.

From what has been said, some may be apt to conclude, that the siege afterward succeeding when the attack was made from the side of Monjouick, it had not been impossible to have prevailed, if the effort had been made on the east side of the town, where our forces were at first encamped, and where only we could have made our approaches if Monjouick had not been in our power. But a few words will convince any of common experience of the utter impossibility of success upon the east part of the town, although many almost miraculous accidents made us succeed, when we brought our batteries to bear upon that part of Barcelona towards the west. The ground to the east was a perfect level for many miles, which would have necessitated our making our approaches in a regular way; and consequently our men must have been exposed to the full fire of their whole artillery. Besides, the town is on that side much stronger than any other; there is an outwork just under the walls of the town, flanked by the courtin and the faces of two bastions, which might have cost us half our troops to possess, before we could have raised a battery against the walls, Or supposing, after all, a competent breach had been made, what a wise piece of work must it have been to have attempted a storm, against double the number of regular troops within?

On the contrary, we were so favoured by the situation when we made the attack from the side of Monjouick, that the breach was made and the town taken without opening of trenches, or without our being at all incommoded by any sallies of the enemy; as, in truth, they made not one during the whole siege. Our great battery, which consisted of upwards of fifty heavy

cannon, supplied from the ships, and managed by the seamen, were placed upon a spot of rising ground, just large enough to contain our guns, with two deep hollow ways on each side the field, at each end whereof we had raised a little redoubt, which served to perserve our men from the shot of the town. Those little redoubts, in which we had some field-pieces, flanked the battery, and rendered it entirely secure from any surprise of the enemy. There were several other smaller batteries raised upon the hills adjacent, in places not to be approached, which, in a manner, rendered all the artillery of the enemy useless, by reason their men could not ply them but with the utmost danger; whereas, ours were secure, very few being killed, and those mostly by random shot.

But to return to the general. Forced as he was to take this extraordinary resolution, he concluded the readiest way to surprise his enemies, was to elude his friends. He therefore called a council of war ashore, of the land-officers; and aboard, of the admirals and sea-officers: in both which it was resolved, that in case the siege of Barcelona was judged impracticable, and that the troops should be re-embarked by a day appointed, an effort should be made upon the kingdom of Naples. Accordingly, the day affixed being come, the heavy artillery, landed for the siege, was returned aboard the ships, and everything in appearance prepared for a re-embarkment. During which, the general was obliged to undergo all the reproaches of a dissatisfied court; and, what was more uneasy to him, the murmurings of the sea-officers, who, not so competent judges in what related to sieges, were one and all inclined to a design upon Barcelona; and the rather, because, as the season was so far spent, it was thought altogether improper to engage the fleet in any new undertaking. However, all things were so well disguised by our seeming preparations for a retreat, that the very night our troops were in march towards the attack of Mon-

jouick, there were public entertainments and rejoicings in the town for the raising of the siege.

The prince of Hesse had taken large liberties in complaining against all the proceedings in the camp before Barcelona; even to insinuations, that though the earl gave his opinion for some effort in public, yet used he not sufficient authority over the other general officers to incline them to comply; throwing out withal some hints, that the general, from the beginning, had declared himself in favour of other operations, and against coming to Catalonia; the latter part whereof was nothing but fact. On the other side, the earl of Peterborow complained, that the boasted assistance was no way made good; and that, in failure thereof, his troops were to be sacrificed to the humours of a stranger; one who had no command, and whose conduct might bear a question whether equal to his courage. These reproaches of one another had bred so much ill-blood between those two great men, that for above a fortnight they had no correspondence, nor ever exchanged one word.

The earl, however, having made his proper dispositions, and delivered out his orders, began his march in the evening, with twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, which, of necessity, were to pass by the quarters of the prince of Hesse. That prince, on their appearance, was told that the general was come to speak with him; and, being brought into his apartment, the earl acquainted him, that he had at last resolved upon an attempt against the enemy; adding, that now, if he pleased, he might be a judge of their behaviour, and see whether his officers and soldiers had deserved that character which he had so liberally given them. The prince made answer, that he had always been ready to take his share; but could hardly believe that troops marching that way could make any attempt against the enemy to satisfac-

tion. However, without further discourse, he called for his horse.

By this we may see what share fortune has in the greatest events. In all probability the earl of Peterborow had never engaged in such a dangerous affair, in cold blood and unprovoked; and if such an enterprise had been resolved on in a regular way, it is very likely he might have given the command to some of the general officers; since it is not usual, nor hardly allowable for one that commands in chief, to go in person on such kind of services. But here we see the general and prince, notwithstanding their late indifferent harmony, engaged together in this most desperate undertaking.

Brigadier Stanhope and Mr. Methuen, now sir Paul, were the general's particular friends, and those he most consulted and most confided in; yet he never imparted this resolution of his to either of them, for he was not willing to engage them in a design so dangerous, and where there was so little hope of success; rather choosing to reserve them as persons most capable of giving advice and assistance in the confusion, great enough already, which yet must have been greater if any accident had happened to himself. And I have very good reason to believe, that the motive which mainly engaged the earl of Peterborow in this enterprise, was to satisfy the prince of Hesse and the world, that his diffidence proceeded from his concern for the troops committed to his charge, and not for his own person. On the other hand, the great characters of the two gentlemen just mentioned, are so well known, that it will easily gain credit, that the only way the general could take to prevent their being of the party was to conceal it from them, as he did from all mankind, even from the archduke himself. And certainly there never was a more universal surprise, than when the firing was heard next morning from Monjouick.

But I now proceed to give an exact account of this great action; of which no person, that I have heard of, ever yet took upon him to deliver to posterity the glorious particulars; and yet the consequences and events, by what follows, will appear so great, and so very extraordinary, that few, if any, had they had it in their power, would have denied themselves the pleasure, or the world the satisfaction, of knowing it.

The troops, which marched all night along the foot of the mountains, arrived two hours before day under the hill of Monjouick, not a quarter of a mile from the outward works: for this reason, it was taken for granted, whatever the design was which the general had proposed to himself, that it would be put in execution before daylight; but the earl of Peterborow was now pleased to inform the officers of the reasons why he chose to stay till the light appeared. He was of opinion that any success would be impossible, unless the enemy came into the outward ditch under the bastions of the second enclosure; but that if they had time allowed them to come thither, there being no palisadoes, our men, by leaping in upon them, after receipt of their first fire, might drive them into the upper works; and following them close, with some probability, might force them, under that confusion, into the inward fortifications.

Such were the general's reasons then and there given; after which, having promised ample rewards to such as discharged their duty well, a lieutenant, with thirty men, was ordered to advance towards the bastion nearest the town; and a captain, with fifty men, to support him. After the enemy's fire, they were to leap into the ditch; and their orders were to follow them close, if they retired into the upper works: nevertheless, not to pursue them further, if they made into the inner fort; but to endeavour to cover themselves within the gorge of the bastion.

A lieutenant and a captain, with the like number of

men, and the same orders, were commanded to a demi-bastion, at the extremity of the fort towards the west, which was above musket-shot from the inward fortification. Towards this place the wall, which was cut into the rock, was not faced for about twenty yards; and here our own men got up, where they found three pieces of cannon upon a platform, without any men to defend them.

Those appointed to the bastion towards the town, were sustained by two hundred men; with which the general and prince went in person. The like number, under the directions of colonel Southwell, were to sustain the attack towards the west; and about five hundred men were left under the command of a Dutch colonel, whose orders were to assist where, in his own judgment, he should think most proper; and these were drawn up between the two parties appointed to begin the assault. My lot was on the side where the prince and earl were in person; and where we sustained the only loss from the first fire of the enemy.

Our men, though quite exposed, and though the glacis was all escarped upon the live rock, went on with an undaunted courage; and, immediately after the first fire of the enemy, all that were not killed or wounded leaped in, *pel-mel*, amongst the enemy; who, being thus boldly attacked, and seeing others pouring in upon them, retired in great confusion; and, some one way, some another, ran into the inward works.

There was a large port in the flank of the principal bastion, towards the north-east, and a covered way, through which the general and the prince of Hesse followed the flying forces; and by that means became possessed of it. Luckily enough, here lay a number of great stones in the gorge of the bastion, for the use of the fortification; with which we made a sort of breast-work, before the enemy recovered of their amaze, or made any considerable fire upon us from their inward fort, which commanded the upper part of that bastion.

We were afterwards informed, that the commander of the citadel, expecting but one attack, had called off the men from the most distant and western part of the fort to that side which was next the town; upon which our men got into a demi-bastion in the most extreme part of the fortification. Here they got possession of three pieces of cannon, with hardly any opposition; and had leisure to cast up a little intrenchment, and to make use of the guns they had taken to defend it. Under this situation, the enemy, when drove into the inward fort, were exposed to our fire from those places we were possessed of, in case they offered to make any sally, or other attempt against us. Thus we every moment became better and better prepared against any effort of the garrison; and, as they could not pretend to assail us without evident hazard, so nothing remained for us to do till we could bring up our artillery and mortars. Now it was that the general sent for the thousand men under brigadier Stanhope's command, which he had posted at a convent, half-way between the town and Monjouick.

There was almost a total cessation of fire, the men on both sides being under cover. The general was in the upper part of the bastion; the prince of Hesse below, behind a little work at the point of the bastion, whence he could only see the heads of the enemy over the parapet of the inward fort. Soon after an accident happened, which cost that gallant prince his life.

The enemy had lines of communication between Barcelona and Monjouick. The governor of the former, upon hearing the firing from the latter, immediately sent four hundred dragoons on horseback, under orders that two hundred dismounting should re-enforce the garrison, and the other two hundred should return with their horses back to the town.

When those two hundred dragoons were, accordingly, got into the inward fort, unseen by any of our men, the

Spaniards, waving their hats over their heads, repeated over and over, *Viva el Rey, Viva.* This the prince of Hesse unfortunately took for a signal of their desire to surrender. Upon which, with too much warmth and precipitancy, calling to the soldiers following, They surrender, They surrender, he advanced with near three hundred men, who followed him without any orders from their general, along the curtain which led to the ditch of the inward fort. The enemy suffered them to come into the ditch, and, there surrounding them, took two hundred of them prisoners, at the same time making a discharge upon the rest who were running back the way they came. This firing brought the earl of Peterborow down from the upper part of the bastion, to see what was doing below. When he had just turned the point of the bastion, he saw the prince of Hesse retiring, with the men that had so rashly advanced. The earl had exchanged a very few words with him, when, from a second fire, that prince received a shot in the great artery of the thigh, of which he died immediately, falling down at the general's feet, who instantly gave orders to carry off the body to the next convent.

Almost the same moment, an officer came to acquaint the earl of Peterborow that a great body of horse and foot, at least three thousand, were on their march from Barcelona towards the fort. The distance is near a mile, all uneven ground; so that the enemy was either discoverable, or not to be seen, just as they were marching on the hills, or in the valleys. However, the general directly got on horseback, to take a view of those forces from the rising ground without the fort, having left all the posts, which were already taken, well secured with the allotted numbers of officers and soldiers.

But the event will demonstrate of what consequence the absence or presence of one man may prove on great occasions: no sooner was the earl out of the fort, the

care of which he had left under the command of the lord Charlemont, a person of known merit and undoubted courage, but somewhat too flexible in his temper, when a panic fear (though the earl, as I have said, was only gone to take a view of the enemy) seized upon the soldiery, which was a little too easily complied with by the lord Charlemont, then commanding officer. True it is; for I heard an officer, ready enough to take such advantages, urge to him, that none of all those posts we were become masters of were tenable; that to offer at it would be no better than wilfully sacrificing human lives to caprice and humour; and just like a man's knocking his head against stone walls to try which was hardest. Having overheard this piece of lip-oratory, and finding, by the answer, that it was too likely to prevail, and that all I was like to say would avail nothing, I slipped away as fast as I could to acquaint the general with the danger impending.

As I passed along, I took notice that the panic was upon the increase; the general rumour affirming that we should be all cut off by the troops that were come out of Barcelona, if we did not immediately gain the hills, or the houses possessed by the Miquelets. Officers and soldiers, under this prevailing terror, quitted their posts, and in one united body, the lord Charlemont at the head of them, marched, or rather hurried, out of the fort, and were come half-way down the hill before the earl of Peterborow came up to them; though, on my acquainting him with the shameful and surprising accident, he made no stay; but answering, with a good deal of vehemence, Good God, is it possible? hastened back as fast as he could.

I never thought myself happier than in this piece of service to my country. I confess I could not but value it, as having been therein more than a little instrumental in the glorious successes which succeeded; since immediately upon this notice from me, the earl galloped

up the hill, and, lighting when he came to lord Charlemont, he took his half pike out of his hand, and turning to the officers and soldiers, told them, if they would not face about and follow him, they should have the scandal and eternal infamy upon them of having deserted their posts, and abandoned their general.

It was surprising to see with what alacrity and new courage they faced about, and followed the earl of Peterborow. In a moment they had forgot their apprehensions, and, without doubt, had they met with any opposition, they would have behaved themselves with the greatest bravery. But as these motions were unperceived by the enemy, all the posts were regained, and anew possessed, in less than half an hour, without any loss; though, had our forces marched half musket-shot further, their retreat would have been perceived, and all the success attendant on this glorious attempt must have been entirely blasted.

Another incident which attended this happy enterprise was this: the two hundred men which fell into the hands of the enemy, by the unhappy mistake of the prince of Hesse, were carried directly into the town. The marquis of Risburg, a lieutenant-general, who commanded the three thousand men which were marching from the town to the relief of the fort, examined the prisoners as they passed by; and they all agreeing that the general and the prince of Hesse were in person with the troops that made the attack on Monjouick, the marquis gave immediate orders to retire to the town; taking it for granted that the main body of the troops attended the prince and general; and that some design therefore was on foot to intercept his return, in case he should venture too far. Thus, the unfortunate loss of our two hundred men turned to our advantage, in preventing the advance of the enemy, which must have put the earl of Peterborow to inconceivable difficulties.

The body of one thousand, under brigadier Stanhope,

being come up to Monjouick, and no interruption given us by the enemy, our affairs were put into very good order on this side; while the camp on the other side was so fortified, that the enemy, during the siege, never made an effort against it. In the mean time, the communication between the two camps was secure enough; although our troops were obliged to a tedious march along the foot of the hills, whenever the general thought fit to relieve those on duty on the side of the attack, from those regiments encamped on the west side of Barcelona.

The next day, after the earl of Peterborow had taken care to secure the first camp to the eastward of the town, he gave orders to the officers of the fleet to land the artillery and ammunition behind the fortress to the westward. Immediately upon the landing whereof, two mortars were fixed; from both which we plied the fort of Monjouick furiously with our bombs. But the third or fourth day, one of our shells, fortunately lighting on their magazine of powder, blew it up, and with it the governor and many principal officers who were at dinner with him. The blast, at the same instant, threw down a face of one of the smaller bastions; which the vigilant Miquelets, ready enough to take all advantages, no sooner saw, (for they were under the hill, very near the place,) but they readily entered while the enemy were under the utmost confusion. If the earl, no less watchful than they, had not at the same moment thrown himself in with some regular troops, and appeased the general disorder, in all probability the garrison had been put to the sword. However, the general's presence not only allayed the fury of the Miquelets, but kept his own troops under strictest discipline: so that, in a happy hour for the frighted garrison, the general gave officers and soldiers quarters, making them prisoners of war.

How critical was that minute wherein the general

met his retreating commander! A very few steps further had excluded us our own conquests, to the utter loss of all those greater glories which ensued. Nor would that have been the worst; for, besides the shame attending such an ill-concerted retreat from our acquests on Monjouick, we must have felt the accumulative disgrace of infamously retiring aboard the ships that brought us; but heaven reserved for our general amazing scenes, both of glory and mortification.

I cannot here omit one singularity of life, which will demonstrate men's different way of thinking, if not somewhat worse; when, many years after, (to one in office, who seemed a little too deaf to my complaints, and by that means irritating my human passions,) in justice to myself, as well as cause, I urged this piece of service, by which I not only preserved the place, but the honour of my country; that *minister petite*, to mortify my expectations, and baffle my plea, with a grimace as odd as his logic, returned, that, in his opinion, the service pretended was a disservice to the nation; since perseverance had cost the government more money than all our conquests were worth, could we have kept them. So irregular are the conceptions of man, when even great actions thwart the bent of an interested will.

The fort of Monjouick being thus surprisingly reduced, furnished a strange vivacity to men's expectations, and as extravagantly flattered their hopes; for, as success never fails to excite weaker minds to pursue their good fortune, though many times to their own loss, so is it often too apt to push on more elevated spirits to renew the encounter for achieving new conquests, by hazarding too rashly all their former glory. Accordingly, everybody now began to make his utmost efforts; and looked upon himself as a drone, if he was not employed in doing something or other towards pushing forward the siege of Barcelona

itself, and raising proper batteries for that purpose. But, after all, it must in justice be acknowledged, that, notwithstanding this prodigious success that attended this bold enterprise, the land forces, of themselves, without the assistance of the sailors, could never have reduced the town. The commanders and officers of the fleet had always evinced themselves favourers of this project upon Barcelona. A new undertaking so late in the year, as I have said before, was their utter aversion, and what they hated to hear of. Elated, therefore, with a beginning so auspicious, they gave a more willing assistance than could have been asked, or judiciously expected. The admirals forgot their element, and acted as general officers at land: they came every day from their ships, with a body of men formed into companies, and regularly marshalled, and commanded by captains and lieutenants of their own. Captain Littleton, in particular, one of the most advanced captains in the whole fleet, offered, of himself, to take care of the landing and conveyance of the artillery to the camp. And answerable to that, his first zeal, was his vigour all along; for, finding it next to an impossibility to draw the cannon and mortars up such vast precipices by horses, if the country had afforded them, he caused harnesses to be made for two hundred men; and, by that means, after a prodigious fatigue and labour, brought the cannon and mortars, necessary for the siege, up to the very batteries.

In this manner was the siege begun; nor was it carried on with any less application; the approaches being made by an army of besiegers, that very little, if at all, exceeded the number of the besieged; not altogether in a regular manner, our few forces would not admit it, but yet with regularity enough to secure our two little camps, and preserve a communication between both not to be interrupted or incommoded by the enemy. We had soon erected three

several batteries against the place, all on the west side of the town, viz., one of nine guns, another of twelve, and the last of upwards of thirty. From all which we plied the town incessantly and with all imaginable fury, and very often in whole volleys.

Nevertheless, it was thought not only advisable, but necessary, to erect another battery upon a lower piece of ground, under a small hill; which, lying more within reach, and opposite to those places where the walls were imagined weakest, would annoy the town the more; and being designed for six guns only, might soon be perfected. A French engineer had the direction; and, indeed, very quickly perfected it. But, when it came to be considered which way to get the cannon to it, most were of opinion that it would be absolutely impracticable, by reason of the vast descent; though, I believe, they might have added a stronger reason, and perhaps more intrinsic, that it was extremely exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Having gained some little reputation in the attack of Monjouick, this difficulty was at last to be put upon me; and as some, not my enemies, supposed, more out of envy than good will. However, when I came to the place, and had carefully taken a view of it, though I was sensible enough of the difficulty, I made my main objection as to the time for accomplishing it; for it was then between nine and ten, and the guns were to be mounted by daylight. Neither could I at present see any other way to answer their expectations, than by casting the cannon down the precipice, at all hazards, to the place below, where that fourth battery was erected.

This wanted not objections to; and therefore, to answer my purpose, as to point of time, sixty men more were ordered me, as much as possible to facilitate the work by numbers; and, accordingly, I set about it. Just as I was setting all hands to work, and had given orders to my men to begin some paces back, to make

the descent more gradual, and thereby render the task a little more feasible, major Collier, who commanded the train, came to me; and perceiving the difficulties to the undertaking, in a fret told me I was imposed upon, and vowed he would go and find out brigadier Petit, and let him know the impossibility, as well as the unreasonableness, of the task I was put upon. He had scarce uttered those words, and turned himself round to perform his promise, when an unlucky shot with a musket-ball wounded him through the shoulder; upon which he was carried off, and I saw him not till some considerable time after.

By the painful diligence, and the additional complement of men, however, I so well succeeded, (such was my great good fortune,) that the way was made, and the guns, by the help of fascines, and other lesser preparations below, safely let down and mounted; so that that fourth battery began to play upon the town before break of day, and with all the success that was proposed.

In short, the breach, in a very few days after, was found wholly practicable; and all things were got ready for a general storm. Which don Valasco, the governor, being sensible of, immediately beat a parley; upon which it was, among other articles, concluded, that the town should be surrendered in three days; and the better to ensure it, the bastion, which commanded the port St. Angelo, was directly put into our possession.

But before the expiration of the limited three days, a very unexpected accident fell out, which hastened the surrender. Don Valasco, during his government, had behaved himself very arbitrarily, and thereby procured, as the consequence of it, a large proportion of ill will, not only among the townsmen, but among the Miquelets, who had in their zeal to king Charles, flocked from all parts of Catalonia to the siege of their capital; and who, on the signing of the articles of sur-

render, had found various ways, being well acquainted with the most private avenues, to get by night into the town; so that early in the morning they began to plunder all that they knew enemies to king Charles, or thought friends to the prince, his competitor.

Their main design was upon Valasco, the governor, whom, if they could have got into their hands, it was not to be questioned, but as far as his life and limbs would have served, they would have sufficiently satiated their vengeance upon. He expected no less, and therefore concealed himself, till the earl of Peterborow could give orders for his more safe and private conveyance by sea to Alicant.

Nevertheless, in the town all was in the utmost confusion; which the earl of Peterborow, at the very first hearing, hastened to appease; with his usual alacrity he rode all alone to port St. Angelo, where, at that time, myself happened to be; and demanding to be admitted, the officer of the guard, under fear and and surprise, opened the wicket, through which the earl entered, and I after him.

Scarce had we gone a hundred paces, when we saw a lady of apparent quality, and indisputable beauty, in a strange but most affecting agony, flying from the apprehended fury of the Miquelets; her lovely hair was all flowing about her shoulders, which, and the consternation she was in, rather added to, than anything diminished from the charms of an excess of beauty. She, as is very natural to people in distress, made up directly to the earl, her eyes satisfying her he was a person likely to give her all the protection she wanted. And, as soon as ever she came near enough, in a manner that declared her quality before she spoke, she craved that protection, telling him, the better to secure it, who it was that asked it. But the generous earl presently convinced her, he wanted no entreaties, having, before he knew her to be the duchess of Popoli, taken her by the hand, in order to convey her through

the wicket, which he entered at, to a place of safety without the town.

I stayed behind, while the earl conveyed the distressed duchess to her requested asylum; and I believe it was much the longest part of an hour before he returned. But as soon as ever he came back, he, and myself at his command, repaired to the place of most confusion, which the extraordinary noise full readily directed us to; and which happened to be on the parade before the palace. There it was that the Miquelets were making their utmost efforts to get into their hands the almost sole occasion of the tumult, and the object of their raging fury, the person of don Valasco, the late governor.

It was here that the earl preserved that governor from the violent, but perhaps too just resentments of the Miquelets; and, as I said before, conveyed him by sea to Alicant. And, indeed, I could little doubt the effect, or be anything surprised at the easiness of the task, when I saw that wherever he appeared the popular fury was in a moment allayed, and that every dictate of that general was assented to with the utmost cheerfulness and deference. Valasco, before his embarkment, had given orders, in gratitude to his preserver, for all the gates to be delivered up, though short of the stipulated term; and they were accordingly so delivered, and our troops took possession so soon as ever that governor was aboard the ship that was to convey him to Alicant.

During the siege of Barcelona, brigadier Stanhope ordered a tent to be pitched as near the trenches as possibly could be with safety; where he not only entertained the chief officers who were upon duty, but likewise the Catalonian gentlemen who brought Miquelets to our assistance. I remember I saw an old cavalier, having his only son with him, who appeared a fine young gentleman, about twenty years of age, go into the tent, in order to dine with the brigadier. But, whilst they were at dinner, an unfortunate shot came

from the bastion of St. Antonio, and entirely struck off the head of the son. The father immediately rose up, first looking down upon his headless child, and then lifting up his eyes to heaven, whilst the tears ran down his cheeks, he crossed himself, and only said, *Fiat voluntas tua!* and bore it with a wonderful patience. It was a sad spectacle, and truly it affects me now whilst I am writing.

The earl of Peterborow, though for some time after the revolution he had been employed in civil affairs, returned to the military life with great satisfaction, which was ever his inclination. Brigadier Stanhope, who was justly afterwards created an earl, did well deserve this motto, *Tam Marte quam Mercurio;* for truly he behaved, all the time he continued in Spain, as if he had been inspired with conduct; for the victory at Almanar was entirely owing to him; and likewise at the battle of Saragosa he distinguished himself with great bravery. That he had not success at Bruhega was not his fault, for no man can resist fate; for it was decreed by heaven, that Philip should remain king of Spain, and Charles to be emperor of Germany. Yet each of these monarchs have been ungrateful to the instruments which the Almighty made use of to preserve them upon their thrones; for one had not been king of Spain but for France; and the other had not been emperor but for England.

Barcelona, the chief place in Catalonia, being thus in our hands, as soon as the garrison, little inferior to our army, had marched out with drums beating, colours flying, &c., according to the articles, Charles III. made his public entry, and was proclaimed king, and received with the general acclamations, and all other demonstrations of joy suitable to that great occasion.

Some days after which, the citizens, far from being satiated with their former demonstrations of their duty, sent a petition to the king, by proper deputies for that purpose appointed, desiring leave to give more ample

instances of their affections in a public cavalcade. The king granted their request, and the citizens, pursuant thereto, made their preparations.

On the day appointed, the king, placed in a balcony belonging to the house of the earl of Peterborow, appeared ready to honour the show. The ceremonial, to speak nothing figuratively, was very fine and grand: those of the first rank made their appearance in decent order, and upon fine horses; and others under arms, and in companies, marched with native gravity and grandeur, all saluting his majesty as they passed by, after the Spanish manner, which that prince returned with the movement of his hand to his mouth; for the kings of Spain are not allowed to salute, or return a salute, by any motion to, or of, the hat.

After these followed several pageants; the first of which was drawn by mules, set off to the height with stateliest feathers, and adorned with little bells. Upon the top of this pageant appeared a man dressed all in green, but in the likeness of a dragon, The pageant making a stop just over against the balcony where the king sat, the dragonical representative diverted him with great variety of dancings; the earl of Peterborow all the time throwing out dollars by handfuls among the populace, which they as constantly received with the loud acclamation, and repeated cries of *Viva, Viva, Carlos Terceros! Viva la Casa d' Austria!*

When that had played its part, another pageant, drawn as before, made a like full stop before the same balcony. On this was placed a very large cage, or aviary, the cover of which, by springs contrived for that purpose, immediately flew open, and out of it a surprising flight of birds of various colours. These, all amazed at their sudden liberty, which I took to be the emblem intended, hovered a considerable space of time over and about their place of freedom, chirping, singing, and otherwise testifying their mighty joy for their so unexpected enlargement.

There were many other pageants; but, having little in them very remarkable, I have forgot the particulars. Nevertheless, every one of them was dismissed with the like acclamations of *Viva, Viva;* the whole concluding with bonfires and illuminations, common on all such occasions.

I cannot here omit one very remarkable instance of the catholic zeal of that prince, which I was soon after an eyewitness of. I was at that time in the fruit-market, when the king passing by in his coach, the host, whether by accident, or contrivance, I cannot say, was brought, at that very juncture, out of the great church, in order, as I after understood, to a poor sick woman's receiving the sacrament. On sight of the host, the king came out of his coach, kneeled down in the street, which at that time proved to be very dirty, till the host passed by; then rose up, and taking the lighted flambeau from him who bore it, he followed the priest up a straight nasty alley, and there up a dark ordinary pair of stairs, where the poor sick woman lay. There he stayed till the whole ceremony was over, when, returning to the door of the church, he very faithfully restored the lighted flambeau to the fellow he had taken it from, the people all the while crying out, *Viva, Viva!* an acclamation, we may imagine, intended to his zeal, as well as his person.

Another remarkable accident, of a much more moral nature, I must, in justice to the temperance of that, in this, truly inimitable people, recite. I was one day walking in one of the most populous streets of that city, where I found an uncommon concourse of people, of all sorts, got together; and imagining so great a crowd could not be assembled on a small occasion, I prest in among the rest; and, after a good deal of struggling and difficulty, reached into the ring and centre of that mixed multitude. But how did I blush, with what confusion did I appear, when I found one of my own countrymen, a drunken grenadier, the

attractive loadstone of all the high and low mob, and the butt of all their merriment! It will be easily imagined to be a thing not a little surprising to one of our country, to find that a drunken man should be such a wonderful sight: however, the witty sarcasms that were then, by high and low, thrown upon that senseless creature, and, as I interpreted matters, me in him, were so pungent, that if I did not curse my curiosity, I thought it best to withdraw myself as fast as legs could carry me away.

Barcelona being now under king Charles, the towns of Gironne, Tarragona, Tortosa, and Lerida, immediately declared for him. To every one of which engineers being ordered, it was my lot to be sent to Tortosa. This town is situated on the side of the river Ebro, over which there is a fair and famous bridge of boats. The waters of this river are always of a dirty red colour, somewhat fouler than our moorish waters; yet it is the only water the inhabitants drink, or covet to drink; and every house providing for its own convenience cisterns to preserve it in, by a few hours standing it becomes as clear as the clearest rock water, but as soft as milk. In short, for softness, brightness, and pleasantness of taste, the natives prefer it to all the waters in the world: and I must declare in favour of their opinion, that none ever pleased me like it.

This town was of the greater moment to our army, as opening a passage into the kingdom of Valencia on one side, and the kingdom of Arragon on the other: and being of itself tolerably defensible, in human appearance might probably repay a little care and charge in its repair and improvement. Upon this employ was I appointed, and thus was I busied till the arrival of the earl of Peterborow with his little army, in order to march to Valencia, the capital of that province. Here he left in garrison colonel Hans Hamilton's regiment; the place, nevertheless, was under the command of a Spanish governor appointed by king Charles.

While the earl stayed a few days at this place, under expectation of the promised succours from Barcelona, he received a *proprio* (or express) from the king of Spain, full of excuses, instead of forces. And yet the very same letter, in a paradoxical manner, commanded him, at all events, to attempt the relief of Santo Mattheo, where colonel Jones commanded, and which was then under siege by the conde de los Torres, (as was the report,) with upwards of three thousand men. The earl of Peterborow could not muster above one thousand foot, and about two hundred horse, a small force to make an attempt of that nature upon such a superior power; yet the earl's vivacity, (as will be occasionally further observed in the course of these Memoirs,) never much regarded numbers, so there was but room, by any stratagem, to hope for success. True it is, for his greater encouragement and consolation, the same letter intimated, that a great concourse of the country people being up in arms, to the number of many thousands, in favour of king Charles, and wanting only officers, the enterprise would be easy, and unattended with much danger. But, upon mature inquiry, the earl found that great body of men all *in nubibus;* and that the conde, in the plain truth of the matter, was much stronger than the letter at first represented.

Santo Mattheo was a place of known importance; and that from its situation, which cut off all communication between Catalonia and Valencia; and, consequently, should it fall into the hands of the enemy, the earl's design upon the latter must inevitably have been postponed. It must be granted, the commands for attempting the relief of it were pressing and peremptory: nevertheless, the earl was very conscious to himself, that as the promised re-enforcements were suspended, his officers would not approve of the attempt upon the foot of such vast inequalities; and their own declared sentiments soon confirmed the dictates of the earl's reason. He therefore addresses himself to those

officers in a different manner: he told them he only desired they would be passive, and leave it to him to work his own way. Accordingly, the earl found out and hired two Spanish spies, for whose fidelity (as his great precaution always led him to do) he took sufficient security; and despatched them with a letter to colonel Jones, governor of the place, intimating his readiness, as well as ability, to relieve him; and, above all, exhorting him to have the Miquelets in the town ready, on sight of his troops, to issue out, pursue, and plunder, since that would be all they would have to do, and all he would expect at their hands. The spies were despatched accordingly; and, pursuant to instructions, one betrayed and discovered the other, who had the letter in charge to deliver to colonel Jones. The earl, to carry on the feint, having, in the mean time, by dividing his troops, and marching secretly over the mountains, drawn his men together, so as to make their appearance on the height of a neighbouring mountain, little more than cannon-shot from the enemy's camp, the tale of the spies was fully confirmed; and the conde, though an able general, marched off with some precipitation with his army; and, by that means, the earl's smaller number of twelve hundred, had liberty to march into the town without interruption. I must not let slip an action of colonel Jones's just before the earl's delivery of them. The conde, for want of artillery, had set his miners to work; and the colonel, finding they had made some dangerous advances, turned the course of a rivulet, that ran through the middle of the town, in upon them, and made them quit a work they thought was brought to perfection.

Santo Mattheo being relieved, as I have said, the earl, though he had so far gained his ends, left not the flying enemy without a feint of pursuit; with such caution, nevertheless, that in case they should happen to be better informed of his weakness, he might have a resource either back again to Santo Mattheo, or to

Vinaros on the sea side; or some other place, as occasion might require. But having just before received fresh advice, that the re-enforcements he expected were anew countermanded; and that the duke of Anjou had increased his troops to twelve thousand men; the officers, not enough elated with the last success to adventure upon new experiments, resolved, in a council of war, to advise the earl, who had just before received a discretionary commission in lieu of troops, so to post the forces under him, as not to be cut off from being able to assist the king in person, or to march to the defence of Catalonia, in case of necessity.

Pursuant to this resolution of the council of war, the earl of Peterborow, though still intent upon his expedition into Valencia, (which had been afresh commanded, even while his supplies were countermanded,) orders his foot, in a truly bad condition, by tedious marches day and night over the mountains, to Vinaros; and with his two hundred horse set out to prosecute his pretended design of pursuing the flying enemy; resolved, if possible, notwithstanding all seemingly desperate circumstances, to perfect the security of that capital.

To that purpose, the earl, with his small body of patrolers, went on frightening the enemy till they came under the walls of Nules, a town fortified with the best walls, regular towers, and in the best repair of any in that kingdom. But even here, upon the appearance of the earl's forlorn, (if they might not properly at that time all have passed under that character,) under the same panic they left that fencible town, with only one thousand of the townspeople, well armed, for the defence of it. Yet was it scarce to be imagined, that the earl, with his small body of two hundred horse, should be able to gain admission; or, indeed, under such circumstances, to attempt it. But, bold as the undertaking was, his good genius went along with him; and so good a genius was it, that it rarely left him without

a good effect. He had been told the day before, that the enemy, on leaving Nules, had got possession of Villa Real, where they put all to the sword. What would have furnished another with terror, inspired his lordship with a thought as fortunate as it was successful. The earl rides up to the very gates of the town, at the head of his party, and peremptorily demands the chief magistrate, or a priest, immediately to be sent out to him; and that under penalty of being all put to the sword, and used as the enemy had used those at Villa Real the day or two before. The troops, that had so lately left the place, had left behind them more terror than men; which, together with the peremptory demand of the earl, soon produced some priests to wait upon the general. By their readiness to obey, the earl very justly imagined fear to be the motive; wherefore, to improve their terror, he only allowed them six minutes' time to resolve upon a surrender, telling them, that otherwise, so soon as his artillery was come up, he would lay them under the utmost extremities. The priests returned with this melancholy message into the place; and in a very short time after the gates were thrown open. Upon the earl's entrance, he found two hundred horse, which were the original of his lordship's forming that body of horse, which afterwards proved the saving of Valencia.

The news of the taking of Nules soon overtook the flying enemy; and so increased the apprehensions of their danger, that they renewed their march the same day; though what they had taken before would have satisfied them much better without it. On the other hand, the earl was so well pleased with his success, that, leaving the enemy to fly before their fears, he made a short turn towards Castillon de la Plana, a considerable, but open town, where his lordship furnished himself with four hundred horses more; and all this under the assurance that his troops were driving the enemy before them out of the kingdom. Hence

he sent orders to colonel Pierce's regiment at Vinaros to meet him at Oropesa, a place at no great distance; where, when they came, they were very pleasingly surprised at their being well mounted, and furnished with all accoutrements necessary. After which, leaving them cantoned in walled towns, where they could not be disturbed without artillery, that indefatigable general, leaving them full orders, went on his way towards Tortosa.

At Vinaros the earl met with advice, that the Spanish militia of the kingdom of Valencia were assembled, and had already advanced, a day's march at least, into that country. Upon which, collecting, as fast as he could, the whole corps together, the earl resolved to penetrate into Valencia directly; notwithstanding this whole collected body would amount to no more than six hundred horse and two thousand foot.

But there was a strong pass over a river, just under the walls of Molviedro, which must be first disputed and taken. This, brigadier Mahoni, by the orders of the duke of Arcos, who commanded the troops of the duke of Anjou in the kingdom of Valencia, had taken care to secure. Molviedro, though not very strong, is a walled town, very populous of itself, and had in it, besides a garrison of eight hundred men, most of Mahoni's dragoons. It lies at the very bottom of a high hill; on the upper part whereof they show the ruins of the once famous Saguntum; famous sure to eternity, if letters shall last so long, for an inviolable fidelity to a negligent confederate, against an implacable enemy. Here yet appear the visible vestigia of awful antiquity, in half standing arches, and the yet unleveled walls and towers of that once celebrated city. I could not but look upon all these with the eyes of despite, in regard to their enemy Hannibal; with those of disdain, in respect to the uncommon and unaccountable supineness of its confederates, the Romans; but with those of veneration, as to the memory of a glorious people, who,

rather than stand reproached with a breach of faith, or the brand of cowardice, chose to sacrifice themselves, their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, in the flames of their expiring city.

In Molviedro, as I said before, Mahoni commanded, with eight hundred men, besides inhabitants; which, together with our having but little artillery, induced the officers, under the earl of Peterborow, reasonably enough to imagine and declare, that there could be no visible appearance of surmounting such difficulties. The earl, nevertheless, instead of indulging such despondencies, gave them hope, that what strength served not to accomplish, art might possibly obtain. To that purpose, he proposed an interview between himself and Mahoni; and accordingly sent an officer with a trumpet to intimate his desire. The motion was agreed to; and the earl having previously stationed his troops to advantage, and his little artillery at a convenient distance, with orders they should appear on a slow march on the side of a rising hill, during the time of conference, went to the place appointed; only, as had been stipulated, attended with a small party of horse. When they were met, the earl first offered all he could to engage Mahoni to the interest of king Charles; proposing some things extravagant enough (as Mahoni himself some time after told me) to stagger the faith of a catholic; but all to little purpose; Mahoni was inflexible, which obliged the earl to new measures.

Whereupon the earl frankly told him, that he could not, however, but esteem the confidence he had put in him; and, therefore, to make some retaliation, he was ready to put it in his power to avoid the barbarities lately executed at Villa Real. My relation to you, continued the general, inclines me to spare a town under your command. You see how near my forces are; and can hardly doubt our soon being masters of the place: what I would therefore offer you, said the earl, is a

capitulation, that my inclination may be held in countenance by my honour. Barbarities, however justified by example, are my utter aversion, and against my nature; and to testify so much, together with my good will to your person, was the main intent of this interview.

This frankness so far prevailed on Mahoni, that he agreed to return an answer in half an hour. Accordingly, an answer was returned by a Spanish officer, and a capitulation agreed upon; the earl at the same time endeavouring to bring over that officer to king Charles, on much the same topics he used with Mahoni. But finding this equally fruitless, whether it was that he tacitly reproached the officer with a want of consideration in neglecting to follow the example of his commander, or what else, he created in that officer such a jealousy of Mahoni, that was afterward very serviceable to him in his further design.

To forward which to a good issue, the earl immediately made choice of two dragoons, who, upon promise of promotion, undertook to go as spies to the duke of Arcos, whose forces lay not far off, on the other side a large plain, which the earl must unavoidably pass, and which would inevitably be attended with almost insuperable dangers, if there attacked by a force so much superior. Those spies, according to instructions, were to discover to the duke, that they overheard the conference between the earl and Mahoni; and at the same time saw a considerable number of pistoles delivered into Mahoni's hands, large promises passing at that instant reciprocally; but above all, that the earl had recommended to him the procuring the march of the duke over the plain between them. The spies went and delivered all according to concert; concluding, before the duke, that they would ask no reward, but undergo any punishment, if Mahoni did not very soon send to the duke a request to march over the plain, in order to put the concerted plot in execution.

It was not long after this pretended discovery, before Mahoni did send indeed an officer to the duke, desiring the march of his forces over the plain; but, in reality, to obstruct the earl's passage, which he knew very well must be that and no other way. However, the duke being prepossessed by the spies, and what those Spanish officers that at first escaped had before infused, took things in their sense; and as soon as Mahoni, who was forced to make the best of his way over the plain before the earl of Peterborow, arrived at his camp, he was put under arrest, and sent to Madrid. The duke having thus imbibed the venom, and taken the alarm, immediately decamped in confusion, and took a different route than at first he intended; leaving that once formidable plain open to the earl, without an enemy to obstruct him. In some little time after he arrived at Madrid, Mahoni made his innocence appear, and was created a general; while the duke of Arcos was recalled from his post of honour.

The day after, we arrived at Valencia; the gates of which fine city were set open to us with the highest demonstrations of joy. I called it a fine city; but sure it richly deserves a brighter epithet; since it is a common saying among the Spaniards, that The pleasures of Valencia would make a Jew forget Jerusalem. It is most sweetly situated in a very beautiful plain, and within half a league of the Mediterranean sea. It never wants any of the fragrancies of nature, and always has something to delight the most curious eye. It is famous to a proverb for fine women; but as infamous, and only in that so, for the race of bravoes, the common companions of the ladies of pleasure in this country. These wretches are so case-hardened they will commit a murder for a dollar, though they run their country for it when they have done. Not that other parts of this nation are uninfested with this sort of animals; but here their numbers are so great, that

if a catalogue was to be taken of those in other parts of that country, perhaps nine in ten would be found by birth to be of this province.

But to proceed: though the citizens, and all sorts of people, were redundant in their various expressions of joy, for an entry so surprising, and utterly lost to their expectation, whatever it was to their wishes, the earl had a secret concern for the public, which lay gnawing at his heart and which yet he was forced to conceal. He knew, that he had not four thousand soldiers in the place, and not powder or ammunition for those; nor any provisions laid in for anything like a siege. On the other hand, the enemy without were upwards of seven thousand, with a body of four thousand more, not fifteen leagues off, on their march to join them. Add to this, the mareschal de Thesse was no further off than Madrid, a very few days' march from Valencia; a short way indeed for the earl, who, as was said before, was wholly unprovided for a siege, which was reported to be the sole end of the mareschal's moving that way. But the earl's never-failing genius resolved again to attempt that by art, which the strength of his forces utterly disallowed him. And in the first place, his intelligence telling him that sixteen twenty-four pounders, with stores and ammunition answerable for a siege, were shipped off for the enemy's service at Alicant, the earl forthwith lays a design, and with his usual success intercepts them all, supplying that way his own necessities at the expense of the enemy.

The four thousand men ready to re-enforce the troops nearer Valencia, were the next point to be undertaken; but *hic labor, hoc opus;* since the greater body under the conde de las Torres, who, with Mahoni, was now reinstated in his post, lay between the earl and those troops intended to be dispersed. And what enhanced the difficulty, the river Xucar must be passed in almost the face of the enemy. Great disadvantages as these were, they did not discourage the earl. He detached

by night four hundred horse and eight hundred foot, who marched with such hasty silence, that they surprised that great body, routed them, and brought into Valencia six hundred prisoners very safely, notwithstanding they were obliged, under the same night-covert, to pass very near a body of three thousand of the enemy's horse. Such a prodigious victory would hardly have gained credit in that city, if the prisoners brought in had not been living witnesses of the action, as well as the triumph. The conde de las Torres, upon these two military rebuffs, drew off to a more convenient distance, and left the earl a little more at ease in his new quarters.

Here the earl of Peterborow made his residence for some time. He was extremely well beloved; his affable behaviour exacted as much from all; and he preserved such a good correspondence with the priests and the ladies, that he never failed of the most early and best intelligence; a thing by no means to be slighted in the common course of life; but much more commendable and necessary in a general, with so small an army, at open war, and in the heart of his enemy's country.

The earl, by this means, some small time after, receiving early intelligence that king Philip was actually on his march to Barcelona, with an army of upwards of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of a mareschal of France, began his march towards Catalonia, with all the troops that he could gather together, leaving in Valencia a small body of foot, such as in that exigence could best be spared. The whole body thus collected made very little more than two thousand foot and six hundred horse; yet resolutely with these he sets out for Barcelona: in the neighbourhood of which, as soon as he arrived, he took care to post himself and his diminutive army in the mountains which environ that city; where he not only secured them against the enemy, but found himself in a ca-

pacity of putting them under perpetual alarms. Nor was the mareschal, with his great army, capable of returning the earl's compliment of disturbance; since he himself, every six or eight hours, put his troops into such a varying situation, that always when most arduously sought, he was furthest off from being found. In this manner the general bitterly harassed the troops of the enemy, and by these means struck a perpetual terror into the besiegers. Nor did he only this way annoy the enemy; the precautions he had used, and the measures he had taken in other places, with a view to prevent their return to Madrid, though the invidious endeavoured to bury them in oblivion, having equally contributed to the driving of the mareschal of France, and his catholic king out of the Spanish dominions.

But to go on with the siege: the breaches in the walls of that city, during its siege by the earl, had been put into tolerable repair; but those of Monjouick, on the contrary, had been as much neglected. However, the garrison made shift to hold out a battery of twenty-three days, with no less than fifty pieces of cannon; when, after a loss of the enemy of upwards of three thousand men, (a moiety of the army employed against it when the earl took it,) they were forced to surrender at discretion. And this cannot but merit our observation, that a place which the English general took in little more than an hour, and with very inconsiderable loss, afforded the mareschal of France a resistance of twenty-three days.

Upon the taking of fort Monjouick, the mareschal de Thesse gave immediate orders for batteries to be raised against the town. Those orders were put in execution with all expedition; and at the same time his army fortified themselves with such intrenchments, as would have ruined the earl's former little army to have raised, or his present much lesser army to have attempted the forcing them. However, they sufficiently

demonstrated their apprehensions of that watchful general, who lay hovering over their heads upon the mountains. Their main effort was to make a breach between port St. Antonio and that breach which our forces had made the year before; to effect which, they took care to ply them very diligently both from cannon and mortars; and in some few days their application was answered with a practicable breach for a storm; which, however, was prudently deferred for some time, and that through fear of the earl's falling on the back of them whenever they should attempt it, which, consequently, they were sensible might put them into some dangerous disorder.

And now it was that the earl of Peterborow resolved to put in practice the resolution he had some time before concerted within himself. About nine or ten days before the raising of the siege, he had received an express from brigadier Stanhope, (who was aboard sir John Leake's fleet, appointed for the relief of the place, with the re-enforcements from England,) acquainting the earl, that he had used all possible endeavours to prevail on the admiral to make the best of his way to Barcelona; but that the admiral, however, persisted in a positive resolution not to attempt the French fleet before that place under the count de Tholouse, till the ships were joined him, which were expected from Ireland, under the command of sir George Bing. True it was, the fleet under admiral Leake was of equal strength with that under the French admiral; but, jealous of the informations he had received, and too ready to conclude that people in distress were apt to make representations too much in their own favour; he held himself, in point of discretion, obliged not to hazard the queen's ships, when a re-enforcement of both cleaner and larger were under daily expectation.

This unhappy circumstance, (notwithstanding all former glorious deliverances,) had almost brought the earl to the brink of despair; and, to increase it, the earl

every day received such commands from the king within the place, as must have sacrificed his few forces, without the least probability of succeeding. Those all tended to his forcing his way into the town; when, in all human appearance, not one man of all that should make the attempt could have done it, with any hope or prospect of surviving. The French were strongly encamped at the foot of the mountains, distant two miles from Barcelona: towards the bottom of those hills, the avenues into the plain were possessed and fortified by great detachments from the enemy's army. From all which it will be evident, that no attempt could be made without giving the enemy time to draw together what body of foot they pleased. Or, supposing it feasible, under all these difficult circumstances, for some of them to have forced their passage, the remainder, that should have been so lucky to have escaped their foot, would have found themselves exposed in open field to a pursuit of four thousand horse and dragoons; and that for two miles together; when, in case of their enclosing them, the bravest troops in the world, under such a situation, would have found it their best way to have surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Nevertheless, when brigadier Stanhope sent that express to the earl, which I just now mentioned, he assured him in the same, that he would use his utmost diligence, both by sea and land, to let him have timely notice of the conjunction of the fleets, which was now all they had to depend upon: adding withal, that if the earl should at any time receive a letter, or paper, though directed to nobody, and with nothing in it but a half sheet of paper cut in the middle, he, the earl, might certainly depend upon it that the two fleets were joined, and making the best of their way for Barcelona. It will easily be imagined the express was to be well paid; and being made sensible that he ran little or no hazard in carrying a piece of blank paper, he under-

took it, and as fortunately arrived with it to the earl, at a moment when chagrin and despair might have hurried him to some resolution that might have proved fatal. The messenger himself, however, knew nothing of the joining of the fleets, or the meaning of his message.

As soon as the earl of Peterborow received this welcome message from brigadier Stanhope, he marched the very same night, with his whole little body of forces, to a town on the sea-shore, called Sigeth. No person guessed the reason of his march, or knew anything of what the intent of it was. The officers, as formerly, obeyed without inquiry, for they were led to it by so many unaccountable varieties of success, that affiance became a second nature, both in officer and soldier.

The town of Sigeth was about seven leagues to the westward of Barcelona; where, as soon as the earl with his forces arrived, he took care to secure all the small fishing-boats, feluccas, and sattées; nay, in a word, every machine in which he could transport any of his men; so that in two days' time he had got together a number sufficient for the conveyance of all his foot.

But, a day or two before the arrival of the English fleet off Sigeth, the officers of his troops were under a strange consternation at a resolution their general had taken. Impatient of delay, and fearful of the fleets passing by without his knowledge, the earl summoned them together a little before night, at which time he discovered to the whole assembly, that he himself was obliged to endeavour to get aboard the English fleet; and that, if possible, before the French scouts should be able to make any discovery of their strength: that, finding himself of no further use on shore, having already taken the necessary precautions for their transportation and security, they had nothing to do but to pursue his orders, and make the best of their way to Barcelona in the vessels which he had provided for them: that they might do this in perfect security when they

saw the English fleet pass by; or if they should pass by in the night, an engagement with the French, which would be an inevitable consequence, would give them sufficient notice what they had to do further.

This declaration, instead of satisfying, made the officers ten times more curious: but when they saw their general going, with a resolution to lie out all night at sea, in an open boat, attended with only one officer, and understood that he intended to row out in his felucca five or six leagues' distance from the shore, it is hardly to be expressed what amazement and concern surprised them all. Mr. Crow, the queen's minister, and others, expressed a particular dislike and uneasiness; but all to no purpose, the earl had resolved upon it. Accordingly, at night, he put out to sea in his open felucca, all which he spent five leagues from shore, with no other company than one captain and his rowers.

In the morning, to the great satisfaction of all, officers and others, the earl came again to land; and immediately began to put his men into the several vessels which lay ready in port for that purpose. But at night their amaze was renewed, when they found their general ready to put in execution his old resolution, in the same equipage, and with the same attendance. Accordingly, he again felucca'd himself; and they saw him no more till they were landed on the mole in Barcelona.

When the earl of Peterborow first engaged himself in the expedition to Spain, he proposed to the queen and her ministry, that admiral Shovel might be joined in commission with him in the command of the fleet. But this year, when the fleet came though the Straits, under vice-admiral Leake, the queen had sent a commission to the earl of Peterborow for the full command whenever he thought fit to come aboard in person. This it was that made the general endeavour, at all hazards, to get aboard the fleet by night; for he was

apprehensive, and the sequel proved his apprehensions too well grounded, that admiral Leake would make his appearance with the whole body of the fleet, which made near twice the number of the ships of the enemy; in which case it was natural to suppose, that the count de Tholouse, as soon as ever the French scouts should give notice of our strength, would cut his cables and put out to sea to avoid an engagement. On the other hand, the earl was very sensible, that if a part of his ships had kept astern, that the superiority might have appeared on the French side; or rather, if they had bore away in the night, towards the coast of Africa, and fallen to the eastward of Barcelona the next day, a battle had been inevitable, and a victory equally certain; since the enemy, by this means, had been tempted into an engagement, and their retreat being cut off, and their whole fleet surrounded with almost double their number, there had hardly been left for any of them a probability of escaping.

Therefore, when the earl of Peterborow put to sea again the second evening, fearful of losing such a glorious opportunity, and impatient to be aboard to give the necessary orders, he ordered his rowers to obtain the same station, in order to discover the English fleet. And according to his wishes he did fall in with it; but unfortunately the night was so far advanced, that it was impossible for him then to put his project into practice. Captain Price, a gentleman of Wales, who commanded a third-rate, was the person he first came aboard of; but how amazed was he to find, in an open boat, at open sea, the person who had commission to command the fleet! So soon as he was entered the ship, the earl sent the ship's pinnace with letters to admiral Leake, to acquaint him with his orders and intentions; and to brigadier Stanhope, with a notification of his safe arrival; but the darkness of the night proved so great an obstacle, that it was a long time before the pinnace could reach the admiral. When

day appeared, it was astonishing to the whole fleet, to see the union flag waving at the main-topmast head. Nobody could trust his own eyes, or guess at the meaning, till better certified by the account of an event so singular and extraordinary.

When we were about six leagues' distance from Barcelona, the port we aimed at, one of the French scouts gave the alarm, who making the signal to another, he communicated it to a third, and so on, as we afterward sorrowfully found, and as the earl had before apprehended. The French admiral being thus made acquainted with the force of our fleet, hoisted sail, and made the best of his way from us, either pursuant to orders, or under the plausible excuse of a retreat.

This favourable opportunity thus lost, there remained nothing to do but to land the troops with all expedition; which was executed accordingly: the regiments, which the earl of Peterborow embarked the night before, being the first that got into the town. Let the reader imagine how pleasing such a sight must be to those in Barcelona, reduced as they were to the last extremity. In this condition to see an enemy's fleet give way to another with re-enforcements from England, the sea at the same instant covered with little vessels crowded with greater succours; what was there wanting to complete the glorious scene, but what the general had projected, a fight at sea, under the very walls of the invested city, and the ships of the enemy sinking, or towed in by the victorious English! But night, and a few hours, defeated the latter part of that well-intended landscape.

King Philip, and the mareschal of France, had not failed to push on the siege with all imaginable vigour; but this retreat of the count de Tholouse, and the news of those re-enforcements, soon changed the scene. Their courage without was abated proportionably, as theirs within was elated. In these circumstances, a council of war being called, it was unanimously resolved to raise the siege. Accordingly, next morning, the first of May,

1706, while the sun was under a total eclipse, in a suitable hurry and confusion, they broke up, leaving behind them most of their cannon and mortars, together with vast quantities of all sorts of ammunition and provisions, scarce stopping to look back till they had left all but the very verge of the disputed dominion behind them.

King Charles looked with new pleasure upon this lucky effort of his old deliverers. Captivity is a state no way desirable to persons however brave, of the most private station in life; but for a king, within two days of falling into the hands of his rival, to receive so seasonable and unexpected a deliverance, must be supposed, as it really did, to open a scene to universal rejoicing among us, too high for any words to express, or any thoughts to imagine, to those that were not present and partakers of it. He forthwith gave orders for a medal to be struck suitable to the occasion; one of which, set round with diamonds, he presented to sir John Leake, the English admiral. The next orders were for recasting all the damaged brass cannon which the enemy had left; upon every one of which was, by order, a sun eclipsed, with this motto under it: *Magna parvis obscurantur.*

I have often wondered that I never heard anybody curious enough to inquire what could be the motives to the king of Spain's quitting his dominions upon the raising of this siege; very certain it is, that he had a fine army, under the command of a mareschal of France, not very considerably decreased, either by action or desertion: but all this would rather increase the curiosity than abate it. In my opinion, then, though men might have curiosity enough, the question was purposely evaded, under an apprehension, that an honest answer must inevitably give a higher idea of the general, than their inclinations led them to. At first view, this may carry the face of a paradox; yet, if the reader will consider, that in every age virtue has had its shaders or maligners, he will himself easily solve it,

at the same time that he finds himself compelled to allow, that those who found themselves unable to prevent his great services, were willing, in a more subtile manner, to endeavour at the annulling of them by silence and concealment.

This will appear more than bare supposition, if we compare the present situation, as to strength, of the two contending powers. The French, at the birth of the siege, consisted of five thousand horse and dragoons, and twenty-five thousand foot; effective men. Now, grant that their killed and wounded, together with their sick in the hospitals, might amount to five thousand, yet as their body of horse was entire, and in the best condition, the remaining will appear to be an army of twenty-five thousand at least. On the other side, all the forces in Barcelona, even with their re-enforcements, amounted to no more than seven thousand foot, and four hundred horse. Why then, when they raised their siege, did not they march back into the heart of Spain, with their so much superior army? or, at least, towards their capital? The answer can be this, and this only; because the earl of Peterborow had taken such provident care to render all secure, that it was thereby rendered next to an impossibility for them so to do. That general was satisfied, that the capital of Catalonia must, in course, fall into the hands of the enemy, unless a superior fleet removed the count de Tholouse, and threw in timely succours into the town; and as that could not depend upon him, but others, he made it his chief care and assiduous employment to provide against those strokes of fortune to which he found himself again likely to be exposed, as he often had been; and, therefore, had he recourse to that vigilance and precaution which had often retrieved him, when to others his circumstances seemed to be most desperate.

The generality of mankind, and the French in particular, were of opinion, that the taking Barcelona would prove a decisive stroke, and put a period to the

war in Spain; and yet at that very instant, I was inclined to believe, that the general flattered himself it would be in his power to give the enemy sufficient mortification, even though the town should be obliged to submit to king Philip. The wise measures taken induced me so to believe, and the sequel approved it; for the earl had so well expended his caution, that the enemy, on the disappointment, found himself under a necessity of quitting Spain; and the same would have put him under equal difficulties, had he carried the place. The French could never have undertaken that siege without depending on their fleet for their artillery, ammunition, and provisions; since they must be inevitably forced to leave behind them the strong towns of Tortosa, Lerida, and Taragona. The earl, therefore, whose perpetual difficulties seemed rather to render him more sprightly and vigorous, took care himself to examine the whole country between the Ebro and Barcelona; and, upon his doing so, was pleasingly, as well as sensibly satisfied, that it was practicable to render their return into the heart of Spain impossible, whether they did or did not succeed in the siege they were so intent to undertake.

There were but three ways they could attempt it: the first of which was by the sea-side, from Taragona towards Tortosa; the most barren, and consequently the most improper, country in the universe to sustain an army; and yet to the natural, the earl had added such artificial difficulties, as rendered it absolutely impossible for an army to subsist, or march that way.

The middle way lay through a better country indeed, yet only practicable by the care which had been taken to make the road so. And even here there was a necessity of marching along the side of a mountain, where, by vast labour and industry, a highway had been cut for two miles, at least, out of the main rock. The earl, therefore, by somewhat of the same labour, soon made it impassable. He employed to that end many

thousands of the country people, under a few of his own officers and troops, who, cutting up twenty several places, made so many precipices, perpendicular almost as a wall, which rendered it neither safe, or even to be attempted by any single man in his wits, much less by an army. Besides, a very few men, from the higher cliffs of the mountain, might have destroyed an army with the arms of nature only, by rolling down large stones, and pieces of the rock, upon the enemy passing below.

The last and uppermost way, lay through the hilly part of Catalonia, and led to Lerida, towards the head of the Ebro, the strongest place we had in all Spain, and which was as well furnished with a very good garrison. Along this road there lay many old castles and little towns in the mountains, naturally strong; all which would not only have afforded opposition, but at the same time have entertained an enemy with variety of difficulties; and especially as the earl had given orders, and taken care that all cattle, and everything necessary to sustain an army, should be conveyed into places of security, either in the mountains, or thereabouts. These three ways thus precautiously secured, what had the earl to apprehend but the safety of the archduke; which yet was through no default of his, if in any danger from the siege?

For I well remember, on receipt of an express from the duke of Savoy, (as he frequently sent such to inquire after the proceedings in Spain,) I was showed a letter, wrote about this time by the earl of Peterborow to that prince, which raised my spirits, though then at a very low ebb. It was too remarkable to be forgot; and the substance of it was, that his highness might depend upon it, that he, the earl, was in much better circumstances than he was thought to be. That the French officers knowing nothing of the situation of the country, would find themselves extremely disappointed, since, in case the siege was raised, their army should

be obliged to abandon Spain; or, in case the town was taken, they should find themselves shut up in that corner of Catalonia, and under an impossibility of forcing their way back, either through Arragon or Valencia: that, by this means, all Spain, to the Ebro, would be open to the lord Galoway, who might march to Madrid, or anywhere else, without opposition. That he had no other uneasiness or concern upon him, but for the person of the archduke, whom he had nevertheless earnestly solicited not to remain in the town on the very first appearance of the intended siege.

Barcelona being thus relieved, and king Philip forced out of Spain, by these cautious steps taken by the earl of Peterborow; before we bring him to Valencia, it will be necessary to intimate, that, as it always was the custom of that general to settle, by a council of war, all the measures to be taken, whenever he was obliged for the service to leave the archduke; a council of war was now accordingly held, where all the general officers, and those in greatest employments at court, assisted. Here everything was in the most solemn manner concerted and resolved upon; here garrisons were settled for all the strong places, and governors appointed; but the main article then agreed upon was, that king Charles should immediately begin his journey to Madrid, and that by the way of Valencia. The reason assigned for it was, because that kingdom being in his possession, no difficulties could arise which might occasion delay, if his majesty took that route. It was likewise agreed in the same council, that the earl of Peterborow should embark all the foot not in garrisons, for their more speedy, as well as more easy conveyance to Valencia. The same council of war agreed, that all the horse in that kingdom should be drawn together; the better to ensure the measures to be taken for the opening and facilitating his majesty's progress to Madrid.

Accordingly, after these resolutions were taken, the

earl of Peterborow embarks his forces, and sails for Valencia, where he was doubly welcomed by all sorts of people, upon account of his safe arrival, and the news he brought along with it. By the joy they expressed, one would have imagined that the general had escaped the same danger with the king; and, in truth, had their king arrived with him in person, the most loyal and zealous would have found themselves at a loss how to have expressed their satisfaction in a more sensible manner.

Soon after his landing, with his customary vivacity, he applied himself to put in execution the resolutions taken in the councils of war at Barcelona; and, a little to improve upon them, he raised an entire regiment of dragoons, bought them horses, provided them clothes, arms, and accoutrements; and in six weeks' time had them ready to take the field; a thing, though hardly to be paralleled, is yet scarce worthy to be mentioned among so many nobler actions of his; yet, in regard to another general, it may merit notice, since, while he had Madrid in possession near four months, he neither augmented his troops, nor laid up any magazines; neither sent he all that time any one express to concert any measures with the earl of Peterborow; but lay under a perfect inactivity, or which was worse, negotiating that unfortunate project of carrying king Charles to Madrid, by the roundabout and ill-concerted way of Arragon; a project not only contrary to the solemn resolutions of the council of war, but which, in reality, was the root of all our succeeding misfortunes; and that only for the wretched vanity of appearing to have had some share in bringing the king to his capital; but how minute a share it was, will be manifest, if it be considered that another general had first made the way easy, by driving the enemy out of Spain; and that the French general only stayed at Madrid till the return of those troops which were, in a manner, driven out of Spain.

And yet that transaction, doughty as it was, took up four most precious months, which most certainly might have been much better employed in rendering it impossible for the enemy to re-enter Spain; nor had there been any great difficulty in so doing, but the contrary, if the general at Madrid had thought convenient to have joined the troops under the earl of Peterborow, and then to have marched directly towards Pampelona, or the frontiers of France. To this the earl of Peterborow solicited the king, and those about him; he advised, desired, and entreated him to lose no time, but to put in execution those measures resolved on at Barcelona. A council of war in Valencia renewed the same application; but all to no purpose, his route was ordered him, and that to meet his majesty on the frontiers of Arragon. There, indeed, the earl did meet the king; and the French general an army, which, by virtue of a decrepit intelligence, he never saw or heard of till he fled from it to his camp at Guadalira. Inexpressible was the confusion in this fatal camp: the king from Arragon, the earl of Peterborow from Valencia, arriving in it the same day, almost the same hour that the earl of Galway entered, under a hasty retreat before the French army.

But to return to order, which a zeal of justice has made me somewhat anticipate; the earl had not been long at Valencia before he gave orders to major-general Windham, to march with all the forces he had, which were not above two thousand men, and lay siege to Requina, a town ten leagues distant from Valencia, and in the way to Madrid. The town was not very strong, nor very large; but sure the oddliest fortified that ever was. The houses in a circle connectively composed the wall; and the people, who defended the town, instead of firing from hornworks, counterscarps, and bastions, fired out of the windows of their houses.

Notwithstanding all which, general Windham found much greater opposition than he at first imagined;

and therefore, finding he should want ammunition, he sent to the earl of Peterborow for a supply; at the same time assigning, as a reason for it, the unexpected obstinacy of the town. So soon as the earl received the letter, he sent for me; and told me I must repair to Requina, where they would want an engineer; and that I must be ready next morning, when he should order a lieutenant, with thirty soldiers, and two matrosses, to guard some powder for that service. Accordingly, the next morning we set out, the lieutenant, who was a Dutchman, and commander of the convoy, being of my acquaintance.

We had reached St. Jago, a small village about midway between Valencia and Requina, when the officer, just as he was got without the town, resolving to take up his quarters on the spot, ordered the mules to be unloaded. The powder, which consisted of forty-five barrels, was piled up in a circle, and covered with oil-cloth to preserve it from the weather; and though we had agreed to sup together at my quarters within the village, yet, being weary and fatigued, he ordered his field-bed to be put up near the powder, and so lay down to take a short nap. I had scarce been at my quarters an hour, when a sudden shock attacked the house so violently, that it threw down tiles, windows, chimneys, and all. It presently came into my head what was the occasion; and, as my fears suggested, so it proved: for, running to the door, I saw a cloud ascending from the spot I left the powder pitched upon. In haste making up to which, nothing was to be seen but the bare circle upon which it had stood. The bed was blown quite away, and the poor lieutenant all to pieces, several of his limbs being found separate, and at a vast distance from each other; and particularly an arm, with a ring on one of the fingers. The matrosses were, if possible, in a yet worse condition, that is, as to manglement and laceration. All the soldiers who were standing, and anything near, were struck dead.

Only such as lay sleeping on the ground escaped; and of those one assured me, that the blast removed him several feet from his place of repose. In short, inquiring into this deplorable disaster, I had this account: that a pig running out of the town, the soldiers endeavoured to intercept its return; but driving it upon the matrosses, one of them, who was jealous of its getting back into the hands of the soldiers, drew his pistol to shoot it, which was the source of this miserable catastrophe. The lieutenant carried along with him a bag of dollars to pay the soldiers' quarters; of which the people, and the soldiers that were saved, found many, but blown to an inconceivable distance.

With those few soldiers that remained alive, I proceeded, according to my orders, to Requina; where, when I arrived, I gave general Windham an account of the disaster at St. Jago. As such it troubled him, and not a little on account of the disappointment. However, to make the best of a bad market, he gave orders for the forming of a mine, under an old castle, which was part of the wall. As it was ordered, so it was begun, more *in terrorem*, than with any expectation of success from it as a mine. Nevertheless, I had scarce began to frame the oven of the mine, when those within the town desired to capitulate. This being all we could aim at, under the miscarriage of our powder at St. Jago, (none being yet arrived to supply that defect,) articles were readily granted them; pursuant to which, that part of the garrison, which was composed of Castilian gentry, had liberty to go wherever they thought best, and the rest were made prisoners of war. Requina being thus reduced to the obedience of Charles III., a new raised regiment of Spaniards was left in garrison, the colonel of which was appointed governor; and our supply of powder having at last got safe to us, general Windham marched his little army to Cuenca.

Cuenca is a considerable city, and a bishopric; therefore, to pretend to sit down before it with such a

company of foragers, rather than an army, must be placed among the hardy influences of the earl of Peterborow's auspicious administration. On the out part of Cuenca there stood an old castle, from which, upon our approach, they played upon us furiously: but as soon as we could bring two pieces of our cannon to bear, we answered their fire with so good success, that we soon obliged them to retire into the town. We had raised a battery of twelve guns against the city, on their rejection of the summons sent them to come under the obedience of king Charles; going to which, from the old castle last reduced, I received a shot on the toe of one of my shoes, which carried that part of the shoe entirely away, without any further damage.

When I came to that battery, we plied them warmly, (as well as from three mortars,) for the space of three days, their nights included; but observing, that in one particular house they were remarkably busy, people thronging in and out below, and those above firing perpetually out of the windows, I was resolved to have one shot at that window, and made those officers about me take notice of it. True it was, the distance would hardly allow me to hope for success; yet, as the experiment could only be attended with the expense of a single ball, I made it. So soon as the smoke of my own cannon would permit it, we could see clouds of dust issuing from out of the window, which, together with the people's crowding out of doors, convinced the officers, whom I had desired to take notice of it, that I had been no bad marksman.

Upon this, two priests were sent out of the place with proposals; but they were so triflingly extravagant, that as soon as ever the general heard them, he ordered their answer in a fresh renewal of the fire of both cannon and mortars. And it happened to be with so much havoc and execution, that they were soon taught reason: and sent back their divines with much more moderate demands. After the general had a

little modelled these last, they were accepted; and according to the articles of capitulation, the city was that very day surrendered into our possession. The earl of Duncannon's regiment took guard of all the gates; and king Charles was proclaimed in due form.

The earl of Peterborow, during this expedition, had left Valencia, and was arrived at my lord Galway's camp at Gaudalaxara; who, for the confederates, and king Charles in particular, unfortunately was ordered from Portugal, to take the command from a general, who had all along been almost miraculously successful, and by his own great actions paved the way for a safe passage to that of his supplanter.

Yet, even in this fatal place, the earl of Peterborow made some proposals, which, had they been embraced, might, in all probability, have secured Madrid from falling into the hands of the enemy: but, in opposition thereto, the lord Galway, and all his Portuguese officers, were for forcing the next day the enemy to battle. The almost only person against it was the earl of Peterborow; who then and there took the liberty to evince the impossibility of coming to an engagement. This the next morning too evidently made apparent, when, upon the first motion of our troops towards the river, which they pretended to pass, and must pass, before they could engage, they were so warmly saluted from the batteries of the enemy, and their small shot, that our regiments were forced to retire in confusion to their camp. By which rebuff, all heroical imaginations were at present laid aside, to consider how they might make their retreat to Valencia.

The retreat being at last resolved on, and a multiplicity of generals rendering our bad circumstances much worse, the earl of Peterborow met with a fortunate reprieve, by solicitations from the queen, and desires tantamount to orders, that he would go with the troops left in Catalonia, to the relief of the duke of Savoy. It is hardly to be doubted, that that general

was glad to withdraw from those scenes of confusion, which were but two visible to eyes even less discerning than his. However, he forbore to prepare himself to put her majesty's desires in execution, as they were not peremptory, till it had been resolved by the unanimous consent of a council of war, where the king, all the generals, and ministers, were present, that it was expedient for the service that the earl of Peterborow, during the winter season, should comply with her majesty's desires, and go for Italy; since he might return before the opening of the campaign, if it should be necessary. And return indeed he did, before the campaign opened, and brought along with him 100,000*l.* from Genoa, to the great comfort and support of our troops, which had neither money nor credit. But, on his return, that noble earl found the lord Galway had been near as successful against him, as he had been unsuccessful against the enemy. Thence was the earl of Peterborow recalled to make room for an unfortunate general, who, the next year, suffered himself to be decoyed into that fatal battle of Almanza.

The earl of Peterborow, on his leaving Valencia, had ordered his baggage to follow him to the camp at Guadalaxara; and it arrived in our little camp, so far safe in its way to the greater at Guadalaxara. I think it consisted of seven loaded waggons; and general Windham gave orders for a small guard to escort it; under which they proceeded on their journey: but, about eight leagues from Cuenca, at a pretty town called Huette, a party from the duke of Berwick's army, with boughs in their hats, the better to appear what they were not, (for the bough in the hat is the badge of the English, as white paper is the badge of the French,) came into the town, crying all the way, *Viva Carlos Tercero, Viva!* With these acclamations in their mouths, they advanced up to the very waggons; when attacking the guards, who had too much deluded themselves with appearances, they

routed them, and immediately plundered the waggons of all that was valuable, and then marched off.

The noise of this soon reached the ears of the earl of Peterborow at Guadalaxara; when leaving my lord Galway's camp, pursuant to the resolutions of the council of war, with a party only of fourscore of Killegrew's dragoons, he met general Windham's little army within a league of Huette, the place where his baggage had been plundered. The earl had strong motives of suspicion, that the inhabitants had given intelligence to the enemy; and, as is very natural, giving way to the first dictates of resentment, he resolved to have laid the town in ashes; but when he came near it, the clergy and magistrates, upon their knees, disavowing the charge, and asserting their innocence, prevailed on the good nature of that generous earl, without any great difficulty, to spare the town, at least not to burn it.

We marched, however, into the town, and that night took up our quarters there; and the magistrates, under the dread of our avenging ourselves, on their part took care that we were well supplied. But, when they were made sensible of the value of the loss which the earl had sustained, and that on a moderate computation it amounted to at least eight thousand pistoles, they voluntarily presented themselves next morning, and, of their own accord, offered to make his lordship full satisfaction, and that, in their own phrase, *de contado*, in ready money. The earl was not displeased at their offer; but generously made answer, That he was just come from my lord Galway's camp at Chincon, where he found they were in a likelihood of wanting bread; and, as he imagined it might be easier to them to raise the value in corn, than in ready money; if they would send to that value in corn to the lord Galway's camp, he would be satisfied. This they with joy embraced, and immediately complied with.

I am apt to think the last century, (and I very much

fear the current will be as deficient,) can hardly produce a parallel instance of generosity, and true public-spiritedness: and the world will be of my opinion, when I have corroborated this with another passage some years after. The commissioners for stating the debts due to the army, meeting daily for that purpose, at their house in Darby-court in Channel-row, I there mentioned to Mr. Read, gentleman to his lordship, this very just and honourable claim upon the government, as monies advanced for the use of the army; who told me, in a little time after, that he had mentioned it to his lordship, but with no other effect than to have it rejected with a generous disdain.

While we staid at Huette, there was a little incident in life, which gave me great diversion. The earl, who maintained a good correspondence with the fair sex, hearing from one of the priests of the place, that, on the alarm of burning the town, one of the finest ladies in all Spain had taken refuge in the nunnery, was desirous to speak with her.

The nunnery stood upon a small rising hill within the town, and, to obtain the view, the earl had presently in his head this stratagem; he sends for me, as engineer, to have my advice, how to raise a proper fortification upon that hill, out of the nunnery. I waited upon his lordship to the place, where, delaring the intent of our coming, and giving plausible reasons for it, the train took, and immediately the lady abbess, and the fair lady came out to make intercession, that his lordship would be pleased to lay aside that design. The divine oratory of one, and the beautiful charms of the other, prevailed; so his lordship left the fortification to be the work of some future generation.

From Huette the earl of Peterborow marched forwards for Valencia, with only those fourscore dragoons, which came with him from Chincon, leaving general Windham pursuing his own orders to join his forces to the army, then under the command of the lord Galway.

But stopping at Campilio, a little town in our way, his lordship had information of a most barbarous fact committed that very morning by the Spaniards, at a small villa, about a league distant, upon some English soldiers.

A captain of the English guards, (whose name has slipped my memory, though I well knew the man,) marching in order to join the battalion of the guards, then under the command of general Windham, with some of his soldiers that had been in the hospital, took up his quarters in that little villa. But, on his marching out of it, next morning, a shot in the back laid that officer dead upon the spot: and, as it had been before concerted, the Spaniards of the place at the same time fell upon the poor weak soldiers, killing several; not even sparing their wives. This was but a prelude to their barbarity; their savage cruelty was only whetted, not glutted. They took the surviving few, hurried and dragged them up a hill, a little without the villa. On the top of this hill there was a hole, or opening, somewhat like the mouth of one of our coal-pits; down this they cast several, who with hideous shrieks and cries, made more hideous by the echoes of the chasm, there lost their lives.

This relation was thus made to the earl of Peterborow, at his quarters at Campilio, who immediately gave orders for to sound to horse. At first we were all surprised; but were soon satisfied, that it was to revenge, or rather do justice on, this barbarous action.

As soon as we entered the villa, we found that most of the inhabitants, but especially the most guilty, had withdrawn themselves on our approach. We found, however, many of the dead soldiers' clothes, which had been conveyed into the church, and there hid. And a strong accusation being laid against a person belonging to the church, and full proof made that he had been singularly industrious in the execution of that horrid piece of barbarity on the hill, his lordship

commanded him to be hanged up at the knocker of the door.

After this piece of military justice, we were led up to the fatal pit, or hole, down which many had been cast headlong. There we found one poor soldier alive, who, upon his throwing in, had catched fast hold of some impending bushes, and saved himself on a little jutty within the concavity. On hearing us talk English, he cried out; and ropes being let down, in a little time he was drawn up; when he gave us an ample detail of the whole villany. Among other particulars, I remember he told me of a very narrow escape he had in that obscure recess. A poor woman, one of the wives of the soldiers, who was thrown down after him, struggled, and roared so much, that they could not, with all their force, throw her cleverly in the middle; by which means falling near the side, in her fall she almost beat him from his place of security.

Upon the conclusion of this tragical relation of the soldier thus saved, his lordship gave immediate orders for the firing of the villa, which was executed with due severity; after which his lordship marched back to his quarters at Campilio; from whence, two days after, we arrived at Valencia; where, the first thing presented to that noble lord, was all the papers taken in the plunder of his baggage, which the duke of Berwick had generously ordered to be returned him, without waste or opening.

It was too manifest, after the earl's arrival at this city, that the alteration in the command of the English forces, which before was only received as a rumour, had deeper grounds for belief than many of his friends in that city could have wished. His lordship had gained the love of all by a thousand engaging condescensions; even his gallantries, being no way prejudicial, were not offensive; and though his lordship did his utmost to conceal his chagrin, the sympathy of those around him made such discoveries upon him,

as would have disappointed a double portion of his caution. They had seen him unelated under successes, that were so near being unaccountable, that, in a country of less superstition than Spain, they might almost have passed for miraculous; they knew full well, that nothing but that series of successes had paved a passage for the general that was to supersede him; those only having removed all the difficulties of his march from Portugal to Madrid; they knew him the older general; and therefore, not knowing that, in the court he came from, intrigue was too often the soul of merit, they could not but be amazed at a change, which his lordship was unwilling anybody should perceive by himself.

It was upon this account, that, as formerly, he treated the ladies with balls, and, to pursue the dons in their own humour, ordered a tawridore, or bull-feast. In Spain, no sort of public diversions are esteemed equal with this. But the bulls provided at Valencia, not being of the right breed, nor ever initiated in the mysteries, did not acquit themselves at all masterly; and, consequently, did not give the diversion or satisfaction expected. For which reason I shall omit giving a description of this bull-feast; and desire my reader to suspend his curiosity till I come to some, which, in the Spanish sense, were much more entertaining; that is, attended with much greater hazards and danger.

But though I have said the gallantries of the general were mostly political, at least very inoffensive; yet there happened about this time, and in this place, a piece of gallantry, that gave the earl a vast deal of offence and vexation; as a matter, that in its consequences might have been fatal to the interest of king Charles, if not to the English nation in general; and which I the rather relate, in that it may be of use to young officers and others; pointing out to them the

danger, not to say folly, of inadvertent and precipitate engagements, under unruly passions.

I have said before, that Valencia is famous for fine women. It indeed abounds in them; and among those, are great numbers of courtezans, not inferior in beauty to any. Nevertheless, two of our English officers, not caring for the common road, however safe, resolved to launch into the deeper seas, though attended with much greater danger. Amours, the common failing of that fair city, was the occasion of this accident, and two nuns the objects. It is customary in that country for young people, in an evening, to resort to the grates of the nunneries, there to divert themselves, and the nuns, with a little pleasant and inoffensive chit-chat. For, though I have heard some relate a world of nauseous passages at such conversations, I must declare that I never saw or heard anything unseemly; and therefore, whenever I have heard any such from such fabulists, I never so much wronged my judgment as to afford them credit.

Our two officers were very assiduous at the grates of a nunnery in this place; and, having there pitched upon two nuns, prosecuted their amours with such vigour, that, in a little time, they had made a very great progress in their affections, without in the least considering the dangers that must attend themselves and the fair; they had exchanged vows, and prevailed upon the weaker vessels to endeavour to get out to their lovers. To effect which, soon after, a plot was laid; the means, the hour, and everything agreed upon.

It is the custom of that nunnery, as of many others, for the nuns to take their weekly courses in keeping the keys of all the doors. The two love-sick ladies giving notice to their lovers at the grate, that one of their turns was come, the night and hour was appointed, which the officers punctually observing, car-

ried off their prey without either difficulty or interruption.

But next morning when the nuns were missing, what an uproar was there over all the city! The ladies were both of quality; and therefore the tidings were first carried to their relations. They received the news with vows of utmost vengeance; and, as is usual in that country, put themselves in arms for that purpose. There needed no great canvassing for discovering who were the aggressors; the officers had been too frequent and too public in their addresses, to leave any room for question. Accordingly, they were complained of and sought for; but sensible at last of their past temerity, they endeavoured, and with a great deal of difficulty perfected, their escape.

Less fortunate were the two fair nuns; their lovers, in their utmost exigency, had forsaken them: and they, poor creatures, knew not where to fly. Under this sad dilemma they were taken; and, as in like offences, condemned directly to the punishment of immuring. And what greater punishment is there on earth, than to be confined between four narrow walls, only open at the top; and thence to be half supported with bread and water, till the offenders gradually starve to death?

The earl of Peterborow, though highly exasperated at the proceedings of his officers, in compassion to the unhappy fair, resolved to interpose by all the moderate means possible. He knew very well, that no one thing could so much prejudice the Spaniard against him, as the countenancing such an action; wherefore, he inveighed against the officers, at the same time that he endeavoured to mitigate in favour of the ladies: but all was in vain; it was urged against those charitable intercessions, that they had broke their vows; and, in that, had broke in upon the laws of the nunnery and religion; the consequence of all which could be nothing less than the punishment appointed to be inflicted. And, which was the hardest of all, the nearest

of their relations most opposed all his generous mediations; and those, who, according to the common course of nature, should have thanked him for his endeavours to be instrumental in rescuing them from the impending danger, grew more and more enraged, because he opposed them in their design of a cruel revenge.

Notwithstanding all which the earl persevered; and, after a deal of labour, first got the penalty suspended; and, soon after, by the dint of a very considerable sum of money, (a most powerful argument which prevails in every country,) saved the poor nuns from immuring; and at last, though with great reluctance, he got them received again into the nunnery. As to the warlike lovers, one of them was the year after slain at the battle of Almanza; the other is yet living, being a brigadier in the army.

While the earl of Peterborow was here with his little army of great heretics, neither priests nor people were so open in their superstitious fopperies, as I at other times found them. For which reason I will make bold, and, by an antichronism in this place, a little anticipate some observations that I made some time after the earl left it. And as I have not often committed such a transgression, I hope it may be the more excusable now, and no way blemish my Memoirs, that I break in upon the series of my journal.

Valencia is a handsome city, and a bishopric; and is considerable, not only for the pleasantness of its situation and beautiful ladies, but (which at some certain times, and on some occasions, to them is more valuable than both those put together) for being the birth-place of St. Vincent, the patron of the place; and next, for its being the place where Santo Domingo, the first institutor of the Dominican order, had his education. Here, in honour of the last, is a spacious and very splendid convent of the Dominicans. Walking by which, I one day observed over the gate, a figure of a man in stone; and near it, a dog, with a lighted torch

in his mouth. The image I rightly enough took to intend that of the saint; but inquiring of one of the order at the gate the meaning of the figures near it, he very courteously asked me to walk in, and then entertained me with the following relation:

When the mother of Santo Domingo, said that religious, was with child of that future saint, she had a dream which very much afflicted her. She dreamt that she heard a dog bark in her belly; and inquiring (at what oracle is not said) the meaning of her dream, she was told, That that child should bark out the Gospel, (excuse the bareness of the expression, it may run better in Spanish; though, if I remember right, Erasmus gives it in Latin much the same turn,) which should thence shine out like that lighted torch. And this is the reason, that wherever you see the image of that saint, a dog and a lighted torch is in the group.

He told me at the same time, that there had been more popes and cardinals of that order than of any, if not all the other. To confirm which, he led me into a large gallery, on each side whereof he showed me the pictures of all the popes and cardinals that had been of that order; among which, I particularly took notice of that of cardinal Howard, great uncle to the present duke of Norfolk. But after many encomiums of their society, with which he interspersed his discourse, he added one that I least valued it for, that the sole care and conduct of the inquisition was intrusted with them.

Finding me attentive, or not so contradictory as the English humour generally is, he next brought me into a fair and large cloister, round which I took several turns with him; and, indeed, the place was too delicious to tire, under a conversation less pertinent or courteous than that he entertained me with. In the middle of the cloister, was a small, but pretty and sweet grove of orange and lemon trees; these bore fruit ripe and green, and flowers, altogether on one

tree; and their fruit was so very large and beautiful, and their flowers so transcendently odoriferous, that all I had ever seen of the like kind in England, could comparatively pass only for beauty in epitome, or nature imitated in wax-work. Many flocks also of pretty little birds, with their cheerful notes, added not a little to my delight. In short, in life, I never knew or found three of my senses at once so exquisitely gratified.

Not far from this, saint Vincent, the patron, as I said before, of this city, has a chapel dedicated to him. Once a year they do him honour in a sumptuous procession. Then are their streets all strewed with flowers, and their houses set off with their richest tapestries; every one strives to excel his neighbour in distinguishing himself by the honour he pays to that saint; and he is the best catholic, as well as the best citizen, in the eye of the religious, who most exerts himself on this occasion.

The procession begins with a cavalcade of all the friars of all the convents in and about the city. These walk two and two with folded arms, and eyes cast down to the very ground, and with the greatest outward appearance of humility imaginable; nor, though the temptation from the fine women that filled their windows, or the rich tapestries that adorned the balconies, might be allowed sufficient to attract, could I observe that any one of them all ever moved them upwards.

After the friars is borne, upon the shoulders of twenty men at least, an image of that saint, of solid silver, large as the life: it is placed in a great chair, of silver likewise; the staves that bear him up, and upon which they bear him, being of the same metal. The whole is a most costly and curious piece of workmanship, such as my eyes never before or since beheld.

The magistrates follow the image and its supporters, dressed in their richest apparel, which is always on this day, and on this occasion, particularly sumptuous and

distinguishing. Thus is the image, in the greatest splendour, borne and accompanied round that fine city; and at last conveyed to the place from whence it came: and so concludes that annual ceremony.

The Valencians, as to the exteriors of religion, are the most devout of any in Spain, though in common life you find them amorous, gallant, and gay, like other people, yet, on solemn occasions, there shines outright such a spirit, as proves them the very bigots of bigotry: as a proof of which assertion, I will now give some account of such observations as I had time to make upon them, during two Lent seasons while I resided there.

The week before the Lent commences, commonly known by the name of Carnival Time, the whole city appears a perfect Bartholomew fair; the streets are crowded, and the houses empty; nor is it possible to pass along without some gambol or jack-pudding trick offered to you. Ink, water, and sometimes ordure, are sure to be hurled at your face or clothes; and if you appear concerned or angry, they rejoice at it, pleased the more, the more they displease; for all other resentment is at that time out of season, though at other times few in the world are fuller of resentment, or more captious.

The younger gentry, or dons, to express their gallantry, carry about them egg-shells, filled with orange or other sweet water, which they cast at ladies in their coaches, or such other of the fair sex as they happen to meet in the streets.

But, after all, if you would think them extravagant to-day, as much transgressing the rules of common civility, and neither regarding decency to one another, nor the duty they owe to Almighty God; yet when Ash-Wednesday comes, you will imagine them more unaccountable in their conduct, being then as much too excessive in all outward indications of humility and repentance. Here you shall meet one bare-footed,

with a cross on his shoulder, a burden rather fit for somewhat with four feet, and which his poor two are ready to sink under, yet the vain wretch bears and sweats, and sweats and bears, in hope of finding merit in an ass's labour.

Others you shall see naked to their waists, whipping themselves with scourges made for the purpose, till the blood follows every stroke; and no man need be at a loss to follow them by the very tracks of gore they shed in this frantic perambulation. Some who, from the thickness of their hides, or other impediments, have not power by their scourgings to fetch blood of themselves, are followed by surgeons with their lancets, who, at every turn, make use of them, to evince the extent of their patience and zeal by the smart of their folly. While others, mingling amour with devotion, take particular care to present themselves all macerated before the windows of their mistresses; and even in that condition, not satisfied with what they have barbarously done to themselves, they have their operators at hand, to evince their love by the number of their gashes and wounds; imagining the more blood they lose, the more love they show, and the more they shall gain. These are generally devotees of quality; though the tenet is universal, that he that is most bloody is most devout.

After these street-exercises, these ostentatious castigations, are over, these self-sacrificers repair to the great church, the bloodier the better; there they throw themselves, in a condition too vile for the eye of a female, before the image of the Virgin Mary; though I defy all their race of Fathers, and their infallible Holy Father into the bargain, to produce any authority to fit it for belief, that she ever delighted in such sanguinary holocausts.

During the whole time of Lent, you will see in every street some priest or friar, upon some stall or stool, preaching up repentance to the people; and with vio-

lent blows on his breast, crying aloud, *Mia culpa, mia maxima culpa*, till he extract reciprocal returns from the hands of his auditors on their own breasts.

When Good-Friday is come, they entertain it with the most profound show of reverence and religion, both in their streets and in their churches. In the last, particularly, they have contrived about twelve o'clock suddenly to darken them, so as to render them quite gloomy. This they do, to intimate the eclipse of the sun, which at that time happened. And to signify the rending of the vail of the temple, you are struck with a strange artificial noise at the very same instant.

But when Easter-day appears, you find it in all respects with them a day of rejoicing; for, though abstinence from flesh with them, who at no time eat much, is not so great a mortification as with those of the same persuasion in other countries, who eat much more, yet there is a visible satisfaction darts out at their eyes, which demonstrates their inward pleasure in being set free from the confinement of mind to the dissatisfaction of the body. Every person you now meet greets you with a Resurrexit Jesus; a good imitation of the primitive Christians, were it the real effect of devotion. And all sorts of the best music, (which here indeed is the best in all Spain,) proclaim an auspicious valediction to the departed season of superficial sorrow and stupid superstition. But enough of this: I proceed to weightier matters.

While we lay at Valencia, under the vigilance and care of the indefatigable earl, news was brought, that Alicant was besieged by general Gorge by land, while a squadron of men-of-war battered it from the sea; from both which the besiegers played their parts so well, and so warmly plied them with their cannon, that an indifferent practicable breach was made in a little time.

Mahoni commanded in the place, being again received into favour; and cleared as he was of those political

insinuations before intimated, he now seemed resolved to confirm his innocence by a resolute defence. However, perceiving that all preparations tended towards a storm, and knowing full well the weakness of the town, he withdrew his garrison into the castle, leaving the town to the defence of its own inhabitants.

Just as that was doing, the sailors, not much skilled in sieges, nor at all times capable of the coolest consideration, with a resolution natural to them, stormed the walls to the side of the sea; where, not meeting with much opposition, (for the people of the town apprehended the least danger there,) they soon got into the place; and, as soon as got in, began to plunder. This obliged the people, for the better security of themselves to open their gates, and seek a refuge under one enemy in opposition to the rage of another.

General Gorge, as soon as he entered the town, with a good deal of seeming lenity, put a stop to the ravages of the sailors; and ordered proclamation to be made throughout the place, that all the inhabitants should immediately bring in their best effects into the great church for their better security. This was by the mistaken populace as readily complied with; and neither friend nor foe at all disputing the command, or questioning the integrity of the intention, the church was presently crowded with riches of all sorts and sizes. Yet, after some time remaining there, they were all taken out, and disposed of by those that had as little property in them as the sailors they were pretended to be preserved from.

The earl of Peterborow, upon the very first news of the siege, had left Valencia, and taken shipping for Alicant, where he arrived soon after the surrender of the town, and that outcry of the goods of the townsmen. Upon his arrival, Mahoni, who was blocked up in the castle, and had experienced his indefatigable diligence, being in want of provisions, and without much hope of relief, desired to capitulate. The earl granted him

honourable conditions, upon which he delivered up the castle, and Gorge was made governor.

Upon his lordship's taking ship at Valencia, I had an opportunity of marching with those dragoons which escorted him from Castile, who had received orders to march into Murcia. We quartered the first night at Alcira, a town that the river Segra almost surrounds, which renders it capable of being made a place of vast strength, though now of small importance.

The next night we lay at Xativa, a place famous for its steadiness to king Charles. General Basset, a Spaniard, being governor, it was besieged by the forces of king Philip; but, after a noble resistance, the enemy were beat off, and the siege raised; for which effort, it is supposed, that on the retirement of king Charles out of this country, it was deprived of its old name Xativa, and is now called San Felippo; though to this day, the people thereabout much disallow by their practice, that novel denomination.

We marched next morning by Monteza; which gives name to the famous title of knights of Monteza. It was, at the time that colonel O'Guaza, an Irishman, was governor, besieged by the people of the country, in favour of king Charles; but very ineffectually, so it never changed its sovereign. That night we quartered at Fonte de las Figuras, within one league of Almanza, where that fatal and unfortunate battle, which I shall give an account of in its place, was fought the year after, under the lord Galway.

On our fourth day's march we were obliged to pass Villena, where the enemy had a garrison. A party of Mahoni's dragoons made a part of that garrison, and they were commanded by major O'Roirk, an Irish officer, who always carried the reputation of a good soldier, and a brave gentleman.

I had all along made it my observation, that captain Matthews, who commanded those dragoons that I marched with, was a person of much more courage than

conduct; and he used as little precaution here, though just marching under the eye of the enemy, as he had done at other times. As I was become intimately acquainted with him, I rode up to him, and told him the danger, which, in my opinion, attended our present march. I pointed out to him just before Villena, a jutting hill, under which we must unavoidably pass; at the turning whereof, I was apprehensive the enemy might lie, and either by ambuscade, or otherwise, surprise us; I therefore entreated we might either wait the coming of our rear-guard, or at least march with a little more leisure and caution. But he, taking little notice of all I said, kept on his round march; seeing which, I pressed forward my mule, which was a very good one, and rid as fast as her legs could carry her, till I had got on the top of the hill. When I came there, I found both my expectation and my apprehensions answered: for I could very plainly discern three squadrons of the enemy ready drawn up, and waiting for us at the very winding of the hill.

Hereupon I hastened back to the captain with the like speed, and told him the discovery I had made; who nevertheless kept on his march, and it was with a good deal of difficulty that I at last prevailed on him to halt, till our rear-guard of twenty men had got up to us. But those joining us, and a new troop of Spanish dragoons, who had marched towards us that morning, appearing in sight; our captain, as if he was afraid of their rivalling him in his glory, at the very turn of the hill, rode in a full gallop, with sword in hand, up to the enemy. They stood their ground till we were advanced within two hundred yards of them, and then in confusion endeavoured to retire into the town.

They were obliged to pass over a small bridge, too small to admit of such a company in so much haste; their crowding upon which obstructed their retreat, and left all that could not get over to the mercy of our swords, which spared none. However, narrow as the

bridge was, captain Matthews was resolved to venture over after the enemy; on doing which, the enemy made a halt, till the people of the town, and the very priests, came out to their relief with fire-arms. On so large an appearance, captain Matthews thought it not advisable to make any further advances; so, driving a very great flock of sheep from under the walls, he continued his march towards Elda. In this action we lost captain Topham and three dragoons.

I remember we were not marched very far from the place where this rencounter happened, when an Irish dragoon overtook the captain, with a civil message from major O'Roirk, desiring that he would not entertain a mean opinion of him for the defence that was made; since, could he have got the Spaniards to have stood their ground, he should have given him good reason for a better. The captain returned a complimental answer, and so marched on. This major O'Roirk, or O'Roork, was the next year killed at Alkay, being much lamented; for he was esteemed both for his courage and conduct, one of the best of the Irish officers in the Spanish service. I was likewise informed, that he was descended from one of the ancient kings of Ireland: the mother of the honourable colonel Paget, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to his present majesty, was nealy related to this gallant gentleman.

One remarkable thing I saw in that action, which affected and surprised me: a Scotch dragoon, of but a moderate size, with his large basket-hilted sword, struck off a Spaniard's head at one stroke, with the same ease, in appearance, as a man would do that of a poppy.

When we came to Elda, (a town much in the interest of king Charles, and famous for its fine situation, and the largest grapes in Spain,) the inhabitants received us in a manner as handsome as it was peculiar; all standing at their doors with lighted torches; which, considering

the time we entered, was far from an unwelcome or disagreeable sight.

The next day, several requested to be the messengers of the action at Villena to the earl of Peterborow at Alicant; but the captain returned this answer to all, that, in consideration of the share that I might justly claim in that day's transaction, he could not think of letting any other person be the bearer. So, giving me his letters to the earl, I the next day delivered them to him at Alicant. At the delivery, colonel Killegrew (whose dragoons they were) being present, he expressed a deal of satisfaction at the account, and his lordship was pleased at the same time to appoint me sole engineer of the castle of Alicant.

Soon after which, that successful general embarked for Genoa, according to the resolutions of the council of war at Guadalaxara, on a particular commission from the queen of England, another from Charles, king of Spain, and charged at the same time with a request of the marquis das Minas, general of the Portuguese forces, to negotiate bills for 100,000*l.* for the use of his troops. In all which, though he was, as ever, successful, yet may it be said, without a figure, that his departure, in a good measure, determined the success of the confederate forces in that kingdom. True it is, the general returned again with the fortunate fruits of those negotiations: but never to act in his old auspicious sphere: and therefore, as I am now to take leave of this fortunate general, let me do it with justice, in an appeal to the world, of the not to be paralleled usage (in these latter ages at least) that he met with for all his services; such a vast variety of enterprises, all successful, and which had set all Europe in amaze; services that had given occasion to such solemn and public thanksgivings in our churches, and which had received such very remarkable approbations, both of sovereign and parliament, and which had been repre-

sented in so lively a manner, in a letter wrote by the king of Spain, under his own hand, to the queen of England, and communicated to both houses in the terms following:

"Madam, my Sister,

"I should not have been so long ere I did myself the honour to repeat the assurances of my sincere respects to you, had I not waited for the good occasion which I now acquaint you with, that the city of Barcelona, is surrendered to me by capitulation. I doubt not but you will receive this great news with entire satisfaction, as well because this happy success is the effect of your arms, always glorious, as from the pure motives of that bounty and maternal affection you have for me, and for everything which may contribute to the advancement of my interest.

"I must do this justice to all the officers and common soldiers, and particularly to my lord Peterborow, that he has shown in this whole expedition, a constancy, bravery, and conduct, worthy of the choice that your majesty has made of him, and that he could no ways give me better satisfaction than he has, by the great zeal and application which he has equally testified for my interest, and for the service of my person. I owe the same justice to brigadier Stanhope, for his great zeal, vigilance, and very wise conduct, which he has given proofs of upon all occasions: as also to all your officers of the fleet, particularly to your worthy admiral, Shovel, assuring your majesty, that he has assisted me in this expedition, with an inconceivable readiness and application, and that no admiral will be ever better able to render me greater satisfaction than he has done. During the siege of Barcelona, some of your majesty's ships, with the assistance of the troops of the country, have reduced the town of Tarragona, and the officers are made prisoners of war. The town of Girone has been taken at the same time by surprise, by the

troops of the country. The town of Lerida has submitted, as also that of Tortosa upon the Ebro; so that we have taken all the places of Catalonia, except Roses. Some places in Arragon, near Sarragosa, have declared for me, and the garrison of the castle of Denia in Valencia have maintained their post, and repulsed the enemy; four hundred of the enemy's cavalry have entered into our service, and a great number of their infantry have deserted.

"This, madam, is the state that your arms, and the inclination of the people, have put my affairs in. It is unnecessary to tell you what stops the course of these conquests; it is not the season of the year, nor the enemy; these are no obstacles to your troops, who desire nothing more than to act under the conduct that your majesty has appointed them. The taking of Barcelona, with so small a number of troops, is very remarkable; and what has been done in this siege is almost without example; that with seven or eight thousand men of your troops, and two hundred Miquelets, we should surround and invest a place, that thirty thousand French could not block up.

"After a march of thirteen hours, the troops climbed up the rocks and precipices, to attack a fortification stronger than the place, which the earl of Peterborow has sent you a plan of; two generals, with the grenadiers, attacked it sword in hand. In which action the prince of Hesse died gloriously, after so many brave actions; I hope his brother and his family will always have your majesty's protection. With eight hundred men they forced the covered way, and all the intrenchments and works, one after another, till they came to the last work which surrounded it, against five hundred men of regular troops which defended the place, and a re-enforcement they had received; and three days afterwards we became masters of the place. We afterwards attacked the town on the side of the castle. We landed again our cannon, and the other artillery,

with inconceivable trouble, and formed two camps, distant from each other three leagues, against a garrison almost as numerous as our army, whose cavalry was double the strength of ours. The first camp was so well intrenched, that it was defended by two thousand men and the dragoons; whilst we attacked the town with the rest of our troops. The breach being made, we prepared to make a general assault with all the army. These are circumstances, madam, which distinguish this action, perhaps, from all others.

"Here has happened an unforeseen accident. The cruelty of the pretended viceroy, and the report spread abroad, that he would take away the prisoners, contrary to the capitulation, provoked the burghers, and some of the country people, to take up arms against the garrison, whilst they were busy in packing up their baggage, which was to be sent away the next day; so that everything tended to slaughter; but your majesty's troops, entering into town with the earl of Peterborow, instead of seeking pillage, a practice common upon such occasions, appeased the tumult, and have saved the town, and even the lives of their enemies, with a discipline and generosity without example.

"What remains is, that I return you my most hearty thanks for sending so great a fleet, and such good and valiant troops to my assistance. After so happy a beginning, I have thought it proper, according to the sentiments of your generals and admirals, to support, by my presence, the conquests that we have made; and to show my subjects, so affectionate to my person, that I cannot abandon them. I receive such succours from your majesty, and from your generous nation, that I am loaded with your bounties; and am not a little concerned to think, that the support of my interest should cause so great an expense. But, madam, I sacrifice my person, and my subjects in Catalonia expose also their lives and fortunes, upon the assurances they have of your majesty's generous protection. Your ma-

jesty and your council knows better than we do what is necessary for our conservation. We shall then expect your majesty's succours with an entire confidence in your bounty and wisdom. A further force is necessary: we give no small diversion to France, and without doubt they will make their utmost efforts against me as soon as possible; but I am satisfied, that the same efforts will be made by my allies to defend me. Your goodness, madam, inclines you, and your power enables you, to support those that the tyranny of France would oppress. All that I can insinuate to your wisdom, and that of your allies, is, that the forces employed in this country will not be unprofitable to the public good, but will be under an obligation and necessity to act with the utmost vigour against the enemy. I am, with an inviolable affection, respect, and most sincere acknowledgment.

Madam, my Sister,
Your most affectionate Brother,

CHARLES."

From the Camp at Senia, before Barcelona, the 22nd of October, 1705.

And yet, after all, was this noble general not only recalled, the command of the fleet taken from him, and that of the army given to my lord Galway, without assignment of cause; but all manner of falsities were industriously spread abroad, not only to diminish, if they could, his reputation, but to bring him under accusations of a malevolent nature. I can hardly imagine it necessary here to take notice, that afterward he disproved all those idle calumnies and ill-invented rumours; or to mention what compliments he received, in the most solemn manner, from his country, upon a full examination and thorough canvassing of his actions in the house of lords. But this is too notorious to be omitted, that all officers coming from Spain were purposely intercepted in their way to London, and craftily

examined upon all the idle stories which had passed, tending to lessen his character: and when any officers had asserted the falsity of those inventions, (as they all did, except a military sweetner or two,) and that there was no possibility of laying anything amiss to the charge of that general, they were told that they ought to be careful, however, not to speak advantageously of that lord's conduct, unless they were willing to fall martyrs in his cause; a thing scarce to be credited even in a popish country. But Scipio was accused, though, as my author finely observes, by wretches only known to posterity by that stupid accusation.

As a mournful valediction, before I enter upon any new scene, the reader will pardon this melancholy expostulation. How mortifying must it be to an Englishman, after he has found himself solaced with a relation of so many surprising successes of her majesty's arms, under the earl of Peterborow; successes, that have laid before our eyes provinces and kingdoms reduced, and towns and fortresses taken and relieved; where we have seen a continued series of happy events, the fruits of conduct and vigilance; and caution and foresight preventing dangers that were held, at first view, certain and insurmountable: to change this glorious landscape, I say, for scenes every way different, even while our troops were as numerous as the enemy, and better provided, yet always baffled and beaten, and flying before the enemy, till fatally ruined in the battle of Almanza: how mortifying must this be to any lover of his country! But I proceed to my Memoirs.

Alicant is a town of the greatest trade of any in the kingdom of Valencia, having a strong castle, being situated on a high hill, which commands both town and harbour. In this place I resided a whole year; but it was soon after my first arrival, that major Collier (who was shot in the back at Barcelona, as I have related in the siege of that place,) hearing of me, sought me out at my quarters; and, after a particular inquiry into the

success of that difficult task that he left me upon, and my answering all his questions to satisfaction, (all which he received with evident pleasure,) he threw down a purse of pistoles upon the table; which I refusing, he told me, in a most handsome manner, his friendship was not to be preserved but by my accepting it.

After I had made some very necessary repairs, I pursued the orders I had received from the earl of Peterborow, to go upon the erecting a new battery between the castle and the town. This was a task attended with difficulties, neither few in number, nor small in consequence; for it was to be raised upon a great declivity, which must render the work both laborious and precarious. However, I had the good fortune to effect it much sooner than was expected; and it was called Gorge's battery, from the name of the governor then commanding; who, out of an uncommon profusion of generosity, wetted that piece of gossipping with a distinguishing bowl of punch. Brigadier Bougard, when he saw this work some time after, was pleased to honour it with a singular admiration and approbation, for its completeness, notwithstanding its difficulties.

This work, and the siege of Carthagena, then in our possession, by the duke of Berwick, brought the lord Galway down to this place. Carthagena is of so little distance from Alicant, that we could easily hear the cannon playing against, and from it, in our castle, where I then was. And I remember my lord Galway, on the fourth day of the siege, sending to know if I could make any useful observations as to the success of it; I returned, that I was of opinion the town was surrendered, from the sudden cessation of the cannon, which, by our news next day from the place proved to be fact. Carthagena is a small sea-port town in Murcia; but has so good an harbour, that when the famous admiral Doria was asked, which were the three best

havens in the Mediterranean, he readily returned, June, July, and Carthagena.

Upon the surrender of this place, a detachment of foot was sent by the governor, with some dragoons, to Elsha; but it being a place of very little strength, they were soon made prisoners of war.

The siege of Carthagena being over, the lord Galway returned to his camp; and the lord Duncannon dying in Alicant, the first guns that were fired from Gorge's battery, were the minute-guns for his funeral. His regiment had been given to the lord Montandre, who lost it before he had possession, by an action as odd as it was scandalous.

That regiment had received orders to march to the lord Galway's camp, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel Bateman, a person before reputed a good officer, though his conduct here gave people, not invidious, too much reason to call it in question. On his march, he was so very careless and negligent, (though he knew himself in a country surrounded with enemies, and that he was to march through a wood, where they every day made their appearance in great numbers,) that his soldiers marched with their muskets slung at their backs, and went one after another, (as necessity had forced us to do in Scotland,) himself at the head of them, in his chaise, riding a considerable way before.

It happened there was a captain, with threescore dragoons, detached from the duke of Berwick's army, with a design to intercept some cash that was ordered to be sent to lord Galway's army from Alicant. This detachment, missing of that intended prize, was returning very disconsolately, *re infecta;* when their captain, observing that careless and disorderly march of the English, resolved, boldly enough, to attack them in the wood. To that purpose he secreted his little party behind a great barn; and so soon as they were half passed by, he falls upon them in the centre with

his dragoons, cutting and slashing at such a violent rate, that he soon dispersed the whole regiment, leaving many dead and wounded upon the spot. The three colours were taken; and the gallant lieutenant-colonel taken out of his chaise, and carried away prisoner with many others; only one officer, who was an ensign, and so bold as to do his duty, was killed.

The lieutenant, who commanded the grenadiers, received the alarm time enough to draw his men into a house in their way; where he bravely defended himself for a long time; but, being killed, the rest immediately surrendered. The account of this action I had from the commander of the enemy's party himself, some time after, while I was a prisoner. And captain Mahoni, who was present when the news was brought, that a few Spanish dragoons had defeated an English regiment, which was this under Bateman, protested to me, that the duke of Berwick turned pale at the relation; and when they offered to bring the colours before him, he would not so much as see them. A little before the duke went to supper, Bateman himself was brought to him; but the duke turned away from him without any further notice, than coldly saying, that he thought he was very strangely taken. The wags of the army made a thorough jest of him, and said his military conduct was of a piece with his economy, having, two days before his march, sent his young handsome wife into England, under the guardianship of the young chaplain of the regiment.

April 15th, in the year 1707, being Easter-Monday, we had in the morning a flying report in Alicant, that there had been the day before a battle at Almanza, between the army under the command of the duke of Berwick, and that of the English under lord Galway, in which the latter had suffered an entire defeat. We at first gave no great credit to it; but alas! we were too soon wofully convinced of the truth of it, by numbers that came flying to us from the conquering

enemy. Then, indeed, we were satisfied of truths, too difficult before to be credited. But, as I was not present in that calamitous battle, I shall relate it, as I received it from an officer then in the duke's army.

To bring the lord Galway to a battle, in a place most commodious for his purpose, the duke made use of this stratagem: he ordered two Irishmen, both officers, to make their way over to the enemy as deserters; putting this story in their mouths, that the duke of Orleans was in full march to join the duke of Berwick with twelve thousand men; that this would be done in two days, and that then they would find out the lord Galway, and force him to fight, wherever they found him.

Lord Galway, who at this time lay before Villena, receiving this intelligence from those well-instructed deserters, immediately raised the siege; with a resolution, by a hasty march, to force the enemy to battle, before the duke of Orleans should be able to join the duke of Berwick. To effect this, after a hard march of three long Spanish leagues in the heat of the day, he appears a little after noon in the face of the enemy with his fatigued forces. Glad and rejoiced at the sight, for he found his plot had taken, Berwick, the better to receive him, draws up his army in a half moon, placing at a pretty good advance three regiments to make up the centre, with express order, nevertheless, to retreat at the very first charge. All which was punctually observed, and had its desired effect: for the three regiments, at the first attack, gave way, and seemingly fled towards their camp; the English, after their customary manner, pursuing them with shouts and hollowings. As soon as the duke of Berwick perceived his trap had taken, he ordered his right and left wings to close; by which means, he at once cut off from the rest of their army all those who had so eagerly pursued the imaginary runaways. In short, the rout was total, and the most fatal blow that ever the English received during the whole war with Spain. Nor, as it is thought, with a great

probability of reason, had those troops that made their retreat to the top of the hills, under major-general Shrimpton, met with any better fate than those on the plain, had the Spaniards had any other general in the command than the duke of Berwick; whose native sympathy gave a check to the ardour of a victorious enemy. And this was the sense of the Spaniards themselves after the battle; verifying herein that noble maxim, that victory to generous minds is only an inducement to moderation.

The day after this fatal battle, (which gave occasion to a Spanish piece of wit, that the English general had routed the French,) the duke of Orleans did arrive indeed in the camp, but with an army of only fourteen attendants.

The fatal effects of this battle were soon made visible and to none more than those in Alicant. The enemy grew every day more and more troublesome; visiting us in parties more boldly than before; and often hovering about us so very near, that with our cannon we could hardly teach them to keep a proper distance. Gorge, the governor of Alicant, being recalled into England, major-general Richards was by king Charles appointed governor in his place. He was a Roman Catholic, and very much beloved by the natives on that account; though, to give him his due, he behaved himself extremely well in all other respects. It was in his time, that a design was laid of surprising Guardamere, a small sea-port town in Murcia: but the military bishop, (for he was, in a literal sense, excellent *tam Marte, quam Mercurio,*) among his many other exploits, by a timely expedition, prevented that.

Governor Richards, my post being always in the castle, had sent to desire me to give notice whenever I saw any parties of the enemy moving. Pursuant to this order, discovering, one morning, a considerable body of horse towards Elsha, I went down into the town, and told the governor what I had seen; and

without any delay he gave his orders, that a captain, with threescore men, should attend me to an old house about a mile distance. As soon as we had got into it, I set about barricading all the open places, and avenues, and put my men in a posture ready to receive an enemy, as soon as he should appear; upon which the captain, as a feint, ordered a few of his men to show themselves on a rising ground just before the house. But we had like to have caught a Tartar: for, though the enemy took the train I had laid, and, on sight of our small body on the hill, sent a party from their greater body to intercept them, before they could reach the town; yet the sequel proved, we had mistaken their number, and it soon appeared to be much greater than we at first imagined. However, our outscouts, as I may call them, got safe into the house; and, on the appearance of the party, we let fly a full volley, which lay dead on the spot three men and one horse. Hereupon the whole body made up to the house, but stood aloof upon the hill without reach of our shot. We soon saw our danger from the number of the enemy: and well for us it was, that the watchful governor had taken notice of it, as well as we in the house. For, observing us surrounded with the enemy, and by a power so much superior, he marched himself, with a good part of the garrison, to our relief. The enemy stood a little time as if they would receive them; but upon second thoughts they retired, and, to our no little joy, left us at liberty to come out of the house and join the garrison.

Scarce a day passed but we had some visits of the like kind, attended sometimes with rencounters of this nature; insomuch that there was hardly any stirring out in safety for small parties, though never so little a way. There was, within a little mile of the town, an old vineyard, environed with a loose stone wall; an officer and I made an agreement to ride thither for an airing. We did so, and, after a little riding, it came into my

head to put a fright upon the officer. And very lucky for us both was that unlucky thought of mine; pretending to see a party of the enemy make up to us, I gave him the alarm, set spurs to my horse, and rid as fast as legs could carry me. The officer no way bated of his speed; and we had scarce got out of the vineyard, but my jest proved earnest; twelve of the enemy's horse pursuing us to the very gates of the town. Nor could I ever after prevail upon my fellow-traveller to believe, that he owed his escape to merriment more than speed.

Soon after my charge, as to the fortifications, was pretty well over, I obtained leave of the governor to be absent for a fortnight, upon some affairs of my own at Valencia. On my return from whence, at a town called Venissa, I met two officers of an English regiment, going to the place from whence I last came. They told me, after common congratulations, that they had left major Boyd at a little place called Capel, hiring another mule, that he rode on thither having tired and failed him; desiring withal, that if I met him, I would let him know that they would stay for him at that place. I had another gentleman in my company, and we had travelled on not above a league further, whence, at a little distance, we were both surprised with a sight that seemed to have set all art at defiance, and was too odd for anything in nature. It appeared all in red, and to move; but so very slowly, that if we had not made more way to that than it did to us, we should have made it a day's journey before we met it. My companion could as little tell what to make of it as I; and, indeed, the nearer it came, the more monstrous it seemed, having nothing of the tokens of man, either walking, riding, or in any posture whatever. At last, coming up with this strange figure of a creature, (for now we found it was certainly such,) what, or rather who, should it prove to be, but major Boyd! He was a person of himself far from one of the

least proportion; and, mounted on a poor little ass, with all his warlike accoutrements upon it, you will allow must make a figure almost as odd as one of the old centaurs. The Morocco saddle that covered the ass, was of burden enough for the beast, without its master; and the additional holsters and pistols made it much more weighty. Nevertheless, a curb bridle of the largest size covered his little head, and a long red cloak, hanging down to the ground, covered jack-boots, ass, master, and all. In short, my companion and I, after we could specifically declare it to be a man, agreed we never saw a figure so comical in all our lives. When we had merrily greeted our major, (for a cynic could not have forborne laughter,) he excused all as well as he could, by saying, he could get no other beast. After which, delivering our message, and condoling with him for his present mounting, and wishing him better at his next quarters, he settled into his old pace, and we into ours, and parted.

We lay that night at Altea, famous for its bay for ships to water at. It stands on a high hill; and is adorned, not defended, with an old fort.

Thence we came to Alicant, where having now been a whole year, and having effected what was held necessary, I once more prevailed upon the governor to permit me to take another journey. The lord Galway lay at Tarraga, while Lerida lay under the siege of the duke of Orleans; and having some grounds of expectation given me, while he was at Alicant, I resolved at least to demonstrate I was still living. The governor favoured me with letters, not at all to my disadvantage; so taking ship for Barcelona, just at our putting into the harbour, we met with the English fleet, on its return from the expedition to Toulon under sir Cloudsly Shovel.

I stayed but very few days at Barcelona, and then proceeded on my intended journey to Tarraga; arriving at which place, I delivered my packet to the lord Gal-

way, who received me with very great civility; and, to double it, acquainted me at the same time, that the governor of Alicant had wrote very much in my favour; but though it was a known part of that noble lord's character, that the first impression was generally strongest, I had reason soon after to close with another saying, equally true, That general rules always admit of some exception. While I was here, we had news of the taking of the town of Lerida; the prince of Hesse, brother to that brave prince who lost his life before Monjouick, retiring into the castle with the garrison, which he bravely defended a long time after.

When I was thus attending my lord Galway at Tarraga, he received intelligence that the enemy had a design to lay siege to Denia; whereupon he gave me orders to repair there as engineer. After I had received my orders, and taken leave of his lordship, I set out, resolving, since it was left to my choice, to go by way of Barcelona, and there take shipping for the place of my station; by which I proposed to save more time than would allow me a full opportunity of visiting Montserat, a place I had heard much talk of, which had filled me with a longing desire to see it. To say truth, I had been told such extravagant things of the place, that I could hardly impute more than one-half of it to anything but Spanish rhodomontadoes, the vice of extravagant exaggeration being too natural to that nation.

Montserat is a rising lofty hill, in the very middle of a spacious plain, in the principality of Catalonia, about seven leagues distant from Barcelona to the westward, somewhat inclining to the north. At the very first sight, its oddness of figure promises something extraordinary; and even at that distance the prospect makes somewhat of a grand appearance: hundreds of aspiring pyramids, presenting themselves all at once to the eye, look, if I may be allowed so to speak, like a little petrified forest; or, rather, like the awful ruins

of some capacious structure, the labour of venerable antiquity. The nearer you approach, the more it affects; but, till you are very near, you can hardly form in your mind anything like what you find it when you come close to it. Till just upon it, you would imagine it a perfect hill of steeples; but so intermingled with trees of magnitude, as well as beauty, that your admiration can never be tired, or your curiosity surfeited. Such I found it on my approach; yet much less than what I found it was, so soon as I entered upon the very premises.

Now that stupendous cluster of pyramids affected me in a manner different to all before; and I found it so finely grouped with verdant groves, and here and there interspersed with aspiring but solitary trees, that it no way lessened my admiration, while it increased my delight. These trees, which I call solitary, as standing single, in opposition to the numerous groves, which are close and thick, (as I observed when I ascended to take a view of the several cells,) rise generally out of the very clifts of the main rock, with nothing, to appearance, but a soil or bed of stone for their nurture. But though some few naturalists may assert, that the nitre in the stone may afford a due proportion of nourishment to trees and vegetables; these in my opinion, were all too beautiful, their bark, leaf, and flowers, carried too fair a face of health, to allow them even to be the foster-children of rock and stone only.

Upon this hill, or, if you please, grove of rocks, are thirteen hermit's cells, the last of which lies near the very summit. You gradually advance to every one, from bottom to top, by a winding ascent, which to do would otherwise be impossible, by reason of the steepness; but though there is a winding ascent to every cell, as I have said, I would yet set at defiance the most observant, if a stranger, to find it feasible to visit them in order, if not precautioned to follow the poor borigo,

or old ass, that, with panniers hanging on each side of him, mounts regularly and daily, up to every particular cell. The manner is at follows:

In the panniers there are thirteen partitions; one for every cell. At the hour appointed, the servant having placed the panniers on his back, the ass, of himself, goes to the door of the convent at the very foot of the hill, where every partition is supplied with their several allowances of victuals and wine. Which, as soon as he has received, without any further attendance, or any guide, he mounts and takes the cells gradually in their due course, till he reaches the very uppermost. Where, having discharged his duty, he descends the same way, lighter by the load he carried up. This the poor stupid drudge fails not to do, day and night, at the stated hours.

Two gentlemen, who had joined me on the road, alike led by curiosity, seemed alike delighted, that the end of it was so well answered. I could easily discover in their countenances a satisfaction, which, if it did not give a sanction to my own, much confirmed it, while they seemed to allow with me that these reverend solitaries were truly happy men. I then thought them such; and a thousand times since reflecting within myself, have wished, bating their errors, and lesser superstitions, myself as happily stationed: for what can there be wanting to a happy life, where all things necessary are provided without care? where the days, without anxiety or troubles, may be gratefully passed away, with an innocent variety of diverting and pleasing objects, and where their sleeps and slumbers are never interrupted with anything more offensive, than murmuring springs, natural cascades, or the various songs of the pretty feathered quiristers?

But their courtesy to strangers is no less engaging than their solitude. A recluse life, for the fruits of it, generally speaking, produces moroseness; pharisaical pride too often sours the temper; and a mistaken opinion of their own merit too naturally leads such men

into a contempt of others: but, on the contrary, these good men (for I must call them as I thought them) seemed to me the very emblems of innocence; so ready to oblige others, that at the same instant they seemed laying obligations upon themselves. This is self-evident, in that affability and complaisance they use in showing the rarities of their several cells; where, for fear you should slip anything worthy observation, they endeavour to instil in you as quick a propensity of asking, as you find in them a prompt alacrity in answering, such questions of curiosity as their own have inspired.

In particular, I remember one of those reverend old men, when we were taking leave at the door of his cell, to which, out of his great civility, he accompanied us, finding by the air of our faces, as well as our expressions, that we thought ourselves pleasingly entertained; to divert us afresh, advanced a few paces from the door, when, giving a whistle with his mouth, a surprising flock of pretty little birds, variegated, and of different colours, immediately flocked around him. Here you should see some alighting upon his shoulders, some on his awful beard, others took refuge on his snowlike head, and many feeding, and more endeavouring to feed, out of his mouth; each appearing emulous, and under an innocent contention, how best to express their love and respect to their no less pleased master.

Nor did the other cells labour under any deficiency of variety: every one boasting in some particular, that might distinguish it in something equally agreeable and entertaining. Nevertheless, crystal springs spouting from the solid rocks were, from the highest to the lowest, common to them all; and, in most of them, they had little brass cocks, out of which, when turned, issued the most cool and crystalline flows of excellent pure water. And yet, what more affected me, and which I found near more cells than one, was the natural cascades of the same transparent element; these, falling from

one rock to another, in that warm, or rather hot climate, gave not more delightful astonishment to the eye, than they afforded grateful refreshment to the whole man. The streams falling from these, soften, from a rougher tumultuous noise, into such affecting murmurs, by distance, the intervention of groves, or neighbouring rocks, that it were impossible to see or hear them, and not be charmed.

Neither are those groves grateful only in a beautiful verdure; nature renders them otherwise delightful, in loading them with clusters of berries of a perfect scarlet colour, which, by a beautiful intermixture, strike the eye with additional delight. In short, it might nonplus a person of the nicest taste, to distinguish or determine, whether the neatness of their cells, within, or the beauteous varieties without, most exhaust his admiration. Nor is the whole, in my opinion, a little advantaged by the frequent view of some of those pyramidical pillars, which seem, as weary of their own weight, to recline and seek support from others in the neighbourhood.

When I mentioned the outside beauties of their cells, I must be thought to have forgot to particularize the glorious prospects presented to your eye from every one of them; but especially from that nearest the summit. A prospect, by reason of the purity of the air, so extensive, and so very entertaining, that to dilate upon it properly to one that never saw it, would baffle credit; and naturally to depaint it, would confound invention. I therefore shall only say, that on the Mediterranean side, after an agreeable interval of some fair leagues, it will set at defiance the strongest optics: and although Barcelona bounds it on the land, the eyes are feasted with the delights of such an intervening champaign, (where beauteous nature does not only smile, but riot,) that the sense must be very temperate, or very weak, that can be soon or easily satisfied.

Having thus taken a view of all their refreshing

springs, their grateful groves, and solitary shades under single trees, whose clusters proved that even rocks were grown fruitful; and having ran over all the variety of pleasures in their several pretty cells, decently set off with gardens round them, equally fragrant and beautiful, we were brought down again to the convent, which, though on a small ascent, lies very near the foot of this terrestrial paradise, there to take a survey of their sumptuous hall, much more sumptuous chapel, and its adjoining repository, and feast our eyes with wonders of a different nature; and yet as entertaining as any, or all, we had seen before.

Immediately on our descent, a priest presented himself at the door of the convent, ready to show us the hidden rarities. And though, as I understood, hardly a day passes without the resort of some strangers to gratify their curiosity with the wonders of the place, yet is there, on every such occasion, a superior concourse of natives ready to see over again, out of mere bigotry and superstition, what they have seen perhaps a hundred times before. I could not avoid taking notice, however, that the priest treated those constant visitants with much less ceremony, or more freedom, if you please, than any of the strangers of what nation soever; or, indeed, he seemed to take as much pains to disoblige those, as he did pleasure in obliging us.

The hall was neat, large, and stately; but being plain, and unadorned with more than decent decorations, suitable to such a society, I hasten to the other.

When we entered the chapel, our eyes were immediately attracted by the image of our lady of Montserat, (as they call it,) which stands over the altar-piece. It is about the natural stature, but as black and shining as ebony itself. Most would imagine it made of that material; though her retinue and adorers will allow nothing of the matter. On the contrary, tradition, which with them is, on some occasions, more than tantamount to religion, has assured them, and they

relate it as undoubted matter of fact, that her present colour, if I may so call it, proceeded from her concealment, in the time of the Moors, between those two rocks on which the chapel is founded; and that her long lying in that dismal place changed her once lovely white into its present opposite. Would not a heretic here be apt to say, that it was great pity that an image which still boasts the power of acting so many miracles, could no better conserve her own complexion? At least it must be allowed, even by a good catholic, to carry along with it matter of reproach to the fair ladies, natives of the country, for their unnatural and excessive affection of adulterating, if not defacing, their beautiful faces, with the ruinating dauberies of carmine.

As the custom of the place is, (which is likewise allowed to be a distinguishing piece of civility to strangers,) when we approach the black lady, (who, I should have told you, bears a child in her arms; but whether maternally black, or of the mulatto kind, I protest I did not mind,) the priest, in great civility, offers you her arm to salute; at which juncture, I, like a true blue protestant, mistaking my word of command, fell foul on the fair lady's face. The displeasure in his countenance (for he took more notice of the rudeness than the good lady herself) soon convinced me of my error; however, as a greater token of his civility, having admitted no Spaniards along with my companions and me, it passed off the better; and his after civilities manifested that he was willing to reform my ignorance by his complaisance.

To demonstrate which, upon my telling him that I had a set of beads, which I must entreat him to consecrate for me, he readily, nay eagerly complied; and having hung them on her arm for the space of about half, or somewhat short of a whole minute, he returned me the holy baubles with a great deal of address, and most evident satisfaction. The reader will be apt to admire

at this curious piece of superstition of mine, till I have told him that even rigid protestants have, in this country, thought it but prudent to do the like; and likewise having so done, to carry them about their persons, or in their pockets; for experience has convinced us of the necessity of this most catholic precaution; since those who have here, travelling or otherwise, come to their ends, whether by accident, sickness, or the course of nature, not having these sanctifying seals found upon them, have ever been refused Christian burial, under a superstitious imagination that the corpse of a heretic will infect everything near it.

Two instances of this kind fell within my knowledge; one before I came to Montserat, the other after. The first was of one Slunt, who had been bombardier at Monjouick; but being killed while we lay at Campilio, a priest, whom I advised with upon the matter, told me, that if he should be buried where any corn grew, his body would not only be taken up again, but ill treated, in revenge of the destruction of so much corn, which the people would on no account be persuaded to touch; for which reason we took care to have him laid in a very deep grave, on a very barren spot of ground. The other was of one captain Bush, who was a prisoner with me on the surrender of Denia; who being sent, as I was afterwards, to Saint Clemente la Mancha, there died; and, as I was informed, though he was privately, and by night, buried in a corn field, he was taken out of his grave by those superstitious people, as soon as ever they could discover the place where his body was deposited. But I return to the convent at Montserat.

Out of the chapel, behind the high altar, we descended into a spacious room, the repository of the great offerings made to the lady. Here, though I thought in the chapel itself I had seen the riches of the universe, I found a prodigious quantity of more costly

presents, the superstitious tribute of most of the Roman catholic princes in Europe. Among a multitude of others, they showed me a sword set with diamonds, the offering of Charles III. then king of Spain, but now emperor of Germany. Though, I must confess, being a heretic, I could much easier find a reason for a fair lady's presenting such a sword to a king of Spain, than for a king of Spain's presenting such a sword to a fair lady: and by the motto upon it, *Pulchra tamen nigra*, it was plain such was his opinion. That prince was so delighted with the pleasures of this sweet place, that he, as well as I, stayed as long as ever he could; though neither of us so long as either could have wished.

But there was another offering from a king of Portugal, equally glorious and costly, but much better adapted; and therefore in its propriety easier to be accounted for. That was a glory for the head of her ladyship, every ray of which was set with diamonds, large at the bottom, and gradually lessening to the very extremity of every ray. Each ray might be about half a yard long; and I imagined in the whole, there might be about one hundred of them. In short, if ever her ladyship did the offerer the honour to put it on, I will, though a heretic, venture to aver, she did not, at that present time, look like a human creature.

To enumerate the rest, if my memory would suffice, would exceed belief. As the upper part was a plain miracle of nature, the lower was a complete treasury of miraculous art.

If you ascend from the lowest cell to the very summit, the last of all the thirteen, you will perceive a continual contention between pleasure and devotion; and at last, perhaps, find yourself at a loss to decide which deserves the pre-eminence: for you are not here to take cells in the vulgar acceptation, as the little dormitories of solitary monks: No! neatness, use, and contrivance, appear in every one of them; and though

in an almost perfect equality, yet in such perfection, that you will find it difficult to discover in any one of them anything wanting to the pleasure of life.

If you descend to the convent near the foot of that venerable hill, you may see more, much more of the riches of the world; but less, far less appearance of a celestial treasure. Perhaps it might be only the sentiment of a heretic; but that awe and devotion, which I found in my attendant from cell to cell, grew languid, and lost, in mere empty bigotry and foggy superstition, when I came below. In short, there was not a greater difference in their heights, than in the sentiments they inspired me with.

Before I leave this emblem of the beatific vision, I must correct something like a mistake, as to the poor *borigo*. I said at the beginning, that his labour was daily; but the Sunday is to him a day of rest, as it is to the hermits, his masters, a day of refection. For, to save the poor faithful brute the hard drudgery of that day, the thirteen hermits, if health permit, descend to their *cœnobium*, as they call it; that is, to the hall of the convent, where they dine in common with the monks of the order, who are Benedictines.

After seven days' variety of such innocent delight, (the space allowed for the entertainment of strangers,) I took my leave of this pacific hermitage, to pursue the more boisterous duties of my calling. The life of a soldier is in every respect the full antithesis to that of a hermit; and I know not whether it might not be a sense of that, which inspired me with very great reluctancy at parting. I confess, while on the spot, I over and over bandied in my mind the reasons which might prevail upon Charles V. to relinquish his crown; and the arguments on his side never failed of energy, when I could persuade myself that this, or some like happy retreat, was the reward of abdicated empire.

Full of these contemplations, (for they lasted there,) I arrived at Barcelona; where I found a vessel ready

to sail, on which I embarked for Denia, in pursuance of my orders. Sailing to the mouth of the Mediterranean, no place along the Christian shore affords a prospect equally delightful with the castle of Denia. It was never designed for a place of great strength, being built and first designed, as a seat of pleasure to the great duke of Lerma. In that family it many years remained; though, within less than a century, that, with two other dukedoms, have devolved upon the family of the duke de Medina Celi, the richest subject at this time in all Spain.

Denia was the first town, that, in our way to Barcelona, declared for king Charles; and was then, by his order, made a garrison. The town is but small, and surrounded with a thin wall; so thin, that I have known a cannon-ball pierce through it at once.

When I arrived at Denia, I found a Spaniard governor of the town, whose name has slipt my memory, though his behaviour merited everlasting annals. Major Percival, an Englishman, commanded in the castle, and on my coming there, I understood it had been agreed between them, that in case of a siege, which they apprehended, the town should be defended wholly by Spaniards, and the castle by the English.

I had scarce been there three weeks before those expectations were answered. The place was invested by count D'Alfelt, and major-general Mahoni; two days after which, they opened trenches on the east side of the town. I was necessitated, upon their so doing, to order the demolishment of some houses on that side, that I might erect a battery to point upon their trenches, the better to annoy them. I did so; and it did the intended service; for with that, and two others, which I raised upon the castle, (from all which we fired incessantly, and with great success,) the besiegers were sufficiently incommoded.

The governor of the town (a Spaniard, as I said before, and with a Spanish garrison) behaved very gal-

lantly; insomuch, that what was said of the prince of Hesse, when he so bravely defended Gibraltar against the joint forces of France and Spain, might be said of him, that he was governor, engineer, gunner, and bombardier all in one: for no man could exceed him, either in conduct or courage. Nor were the Spaniards under him less valiant or vigilant; for in case the place was taken, expecting but indifferent quarter, they fought with bravery, and defended the place to admiration.

The enemy had answered our fire with all the ardour imaginable; and having made a breach, that, as we thought, was practicable, a storm was expected every hour. Preparing against which, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, and the surprise of the whole garrison, and without our being able to assign the least cause, the enemy suddenly raised the siege, and withdrew from a place which those within imagined in great danger.

The siege thus abdicated, (if I may use a modern phrase,) I was resolved to improve my time, and make the best provision I could against any future attack. To that purpose I made several new fortifications, together with proper casements for our powder, all which rendered the place much stronger, though time too soon showed me that strength itself must yield to fortune.

Surveying those works, and my workmen, I was one day standing on the great battery, when, casting my eye toward the Barbary coast, I observed an odd sort of greenish cloud making to the Spanish shore; not like other clouds, with rapidity or swiftness; but with a motion so slow, that sight itself was a long time before it would allow it such. At last, it came just over my head, and interposing between the sun and me, so thickened the air, that I had lost the very sight of day. At this moment it had reached the land; and though very near me in my imagination, it began to dissolve, and lose of its first tenebrity, when, all on a sudden,

there fell such a vast multitude of locusts, as exceeded the thickest storm of hail or snow that I ever saw. All around me was immediately covered with those crawling creatures; and they yet continued to fall so thick, that with the swing of my cane I knocked down thousands. It is scarce imaginable the havoc I made in a very little space of time; much less conceivable is the horrid desolation which attended the visitation of those animalculæ. There was not, in a day or two's time, the least leaf to be seen upon a tree, nor any green thing in a garden. Nature seemed buried in her own ruins, and the vegetable world to be supporters only to her monument. I never saw the hardest winter, in those parts, attended with any equal desolation. When, glutton-like, they had devoured all that should have sustained them, and the more valuable part of God's creation, (whether weary with gorging, or over-thirsty with devouring, I leave to philosophers,) they made to ponds, brooks, and standing pools, there revenging their own rape upon nature, upon their own vile carcases. In every one of these you might see them lie in heaps like little hills; drowned indeed, but attended with stenches so noisome, that it gave the distracted neighbourhood too great reason to apprehend yet more fatal consequences. A pestilential infection is the dread of every place, but especially of all parts upon the Mediterranean. The priests, therefore, repaired to a little chapel, built in the open fields, to be made use of on such-like occasions, there to deprecate the miserable cause of this dreadful visitation. In a week's time, or thereabouts, the stench was over, and everything but verdant nature in its pristine order.

Some few months after this, and about eight months from the former siege, count D'Alfelt caused Denia to be again invested; and being then sensible of all the mistakes he had before committed, he now went about his business with more regularity and discretion. The first thing he set upon, and it was the wisest thing he

could do, was to cut off our communication with the sea. This he did, and thereby obtained what he much desired. Next, he caused his batteries to be erected on the west side of the town, from which he plied it so furiously, that in five days' time a practicable breach was made; upon which they stormed and took it. The governor, who had so bravely defended it in the former siege, fortunately for him, had been removed; and Francis Valero, now in his place, was made prisoner of war with all his garrison.

After the taking the town, they erected batteries against the castle, which they kept plied with incessant fire, both from cannon and mortars. But what most of all plagued us, and did us most mischief, was the vast showers of stones sent among the garrison from their mortars. These, terrible in bulk and size, did more execution than all the rest put together. The garrison could not avoid being somewhat disheartened at this uncommon way of rencounter, yet, to a man, declared against hearkening to any proposals of surrender, the governor excepted; who, having selected more treasure than he could properly or justly call his own, was the only person that seemed forward for such a motion. He had more than once thrown out expressions of such a nature, but without any effect. Nevertheless, having at last secretly obtained a peculiar capitulation for himself, bag, and baggage, the garrison was sacrificed to his private interest, and basely given up prisoners of war. By these means, indeed, he saved his money, but lost his reputation; and soon after life itself. And sure everybody will allow the latter loss to be least, who will take pains to consider that it screened him from the consequential scrutinies of a council of war, which must have issued as the just reward of his demerits.

The garrison being thus unaccountably delivered up and made prisoners, were dispersed different ways: some into Castile, others as far as Oviedo, in the king-

dom of Leon. For my own part, having received a contusion in my breast, I was under a necessity of being left behind with the enemy, till I should be in a condition to be removed; and when that time came, I found myself agreeably ordered to Valencia.

As a prisoner of war, I must now bid adieu to the active part of the military life, and hereafter concern myself with descriptions of countries, towns, palaces, and men, instead of battles. However, if I take in my way actions of war, founded on the best authorities, I hope my interspersing such will be no disadvantage to my now more pacific Memoirs.

So soon as I arrived at Valencia, I wrote to our paymaster Mr. Mead, at Barcelona, letting him know that I was become a prisoner, wounded, and in want of money. Nor could even all those circumstances prevail on me to think it long before he returned a favourable answer, in an order to monsieur Zoulicafre, a banker, to pay me, on sight, fifty pistoles. But in the same letter he gave me to understand that those fifty pistoles were a present to me from general (afterwards earl) Stanhope; and so indeed I found it, when I returned into England, my account not being charged with any part of it: but this was not the only test I received of that generous earl's generosity. And where's the wonder, as the world is compelled to own, that heroic actions and largeness of soul ever did discover and amply distinguish the genuine branches of that illustrious family?

This recruit to me, however, was the more generous for being seasonable. Benefits are always doubled in their being easily conferred and well timed; and with such an allowance as I constantly had by the order of king Philip, as prisoner of war, viz. eighteen ounces of mutton *per diem* for myself, and nine for my man, with bread and wine in proportion, and especially in such a situation; all this, I say, was sufficient to invite a man to be easy, and almost forget his want of liberty; and

much more so to me, if it be considered that that want of liberty consisted only in being debarred from leaving the pleasantest city in all Spain.

Here I met with the French engineer who made the mine under the rock of the castle at Alicant; that fatal mine, which blew up general Richards, colonel Syburg, colonel Thornicroft, and at least twenty more officers. And yet, by the account that engineer gave me, their fate was their own choosing; the general, who commanded at that siege, being more industrious to save them than they were to be saved. He endeavoured it many ways: he sent them word of the mine, and their readiness to spring it; he over and over sent them offers of leave to come and take a view of it, and inspect it. Notwithstanding all which, though colonel Thornicroft, and captain Page, a French engineer in the service of king Charles, pursued the invitation, and were permitted to view it, yet would they not believe; but reported on their return, that it was a sham mine, a feint only, to intimidate them to a surrender, all the bags being filled with sand instead of gunpowder.

The very day on which the besiegers designed to spring the mine, they gave notice of it; and the people of the neighbourhood ran up in crowds to an opposite hill in order to see it: nevertheless, although those in the castle saw all this, they still remained so infatuated, as to imagine it all done only to affright them. At length the fatal mine was sprung, and all who were upon that battery lost their lives; and, among them, those I first mentioned. The very recital hereof made me think within myself, Who can resist his fate?

That engineer added further, that it was with an incredible difficulty that he prepared that mine; that there were in the concavity thirteen hundred barrels of powder; notwithstanding which, it made no great noise without, whatever it might do inwardly; that only taking away what might be not improperly termed

an excrescence in the rock, the heave on the blast had rendered the castle rather stronger on that side than it was before; a crevice or crack, which had often occasioned apprehensions, being thereby wholly closed and firm.

Some further particulars I soon after had from colonel Syburg's gentleman; who, seeing me at the playhouse, challenged me, though at that time unknown to me. He told me, that, the night preceding the unfortunate catastrophe of his master, he was waiting on him in the casement, where he observed, some time before the rest of the company took notice of it, that general Richards appeared very pensive and thoughtful; that the whole night long he was pestered with, and could not get rid of a great fly, which was perpetually buzzing about his ears and head, to the vexation and disturbance of the rest of the company, as well as the general himself; that in the morning, when they went upon the battery, under which the mine was, the general made many offers of going off; but colonel Syburg, who was got a little merry, and the rest out of a bravado, would stay, and would not let the general stir; that at last it was proposed by colonel Syburg to have the other two bottles to the queen's health, after which he promised they would all go off together.

Upon this, my relater, Syburg's gentleman, said, he was sent to fetch the stipulated two bottles; returning with which, captain Daniel Weaver, within thirty or forty yards of the battery, ran by him, vowing, he was resolved to drink the queen's health with them; but his feet were scarce on the battery, when the mine was sprung, which took him away with the rest of the company; while major Harding, now a justice in Westminster, coming that very moment off duty, exchanged fates.

If predestination, in the eyes of many, is an unaccountable doctrine, what better account can the wisest give of this fatality? Or to what else shall we impute

the issue of this whole transaction? That men shall be solicited to their safety; suffered to survey the danger they were threatened with; among many other tokens of its approaching certainty, see such a concourse of people crowding to be spectators of their impending catastrophe; and after all this, so infatuated to stay on the fatal spot the fetching up, to the other two bottles; whatever it may to such as never think, to such as plead an use of reason, it must administer matter worthy of the sedatest consideration.

Being now pretty well recovered of my wounds, I was, by order of the governor of Valencia, removed to Sainte Clemente de la Mancha, a town somewhat more inland, and consequently esteemed more secure than a semi-seaport. Here I remained under a sort of pilgrimage upwards of three years. To me, as a stranger, divested of acquaintance or friend, (for at that instant I was sole prisoner there,) at first it appeared such, though in a very small compass of time, I luckily found it made quite otherwise by an agreeable conversation.

Sainte Clemente de la Mancha is rendered famous by the renowned Don Michael Cervantes, who, in his facetious but satirical romance, has fixed it the seat and birthplace of his hero Don Quixotte.

The gentlemen of this place are the least priest-ridden, or sons of bigotry, of any that I met with in all Spain; of which, in my conversation with them, I had daily instances. Among many others, an expression that fell from Don Felix Pacheo, a gentleman of the best figure thereabout, and of a very plentiful fortune, shall now suffice. I was become very intimate with him; and we used often to converse together with a freedom too dangerous to be common in a country so enslaved by the Inquisition. Asking me one day, in a sort of a jocose manner, who, in my opinion, had done the greatest miracles that ever were heard of? I answered, Jesus Christ. It is very true, says he, Jesus Christ did great miracles, and a great one it was to

feed five thousand people with two or three small fishes, and a like number of loaves: but St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, has found out a way to feed daily one hundred thousand lubbards with nothing at all; meaning the Franciscans, the followers of St. Francis, who have no visible revenues, yet, in their way of living, come up to, if they do not exceed, any other order.

Another day, talking of the place, it naturally led us into a discourse of the knight of la Mancha, Don Quixotte. At which time he told me, that, in his opinion, that work was a perfect paradox, being the best and the worst romance that ever was wrote. For, says he, though it must infallibly please every man that has any taste of wit, yet has it had such a fatal effect upon the spirits of my countrymen, that every man of wit must ever resent; for, continued he, before the appearance in the world of that labour of Cervantes, it was next to an impossibility for a man to walk the streets with any delight, or without danger. There were seen so many cavalieros prancing and curvetting before the windows of their mistresses, that a stranger would have imagined the whole nation to have been nothing less than a race of knight errants. But after the world became a little acquainted with that notable history, the man that was seen in that once celebrated drapery, was pointed at as a Don Quixotte, and found himself the jest of high and low. And I verily believe, added he, that to this, and this only, we owe that dampness and poverty of spirit, which has run through all our councils for a century past, so little agreeable to those nobler actions of our famous ancestors.

After many of these lesser sorts of confidences, Don Felix recommended me to a lodging next door to his own. It was at a widow's, who had one only daughter, her house just opposite to a Franciscan nunnery. Here I remained somewhat upwards of two years; all which

time, lying in my bed, I could hear the nuns early in the morning at their matins, and late in the evening at their vespers, with delight enough to myself, and without the least indecency in the world in my thoughts of them. Their own divine employ too much employed every faculty of mine, to entertain anything inconsentaneous or offensive.

This my neighbourhood to the nunnery gave me an opportunity of seeing two nuns invested; and in this I must do a justice to the whole country to acknowledge, that a stranger, who is curious, (I would impute it rather to their hopes of conversion, than to their vanity,) shall be admitted to much greater freedoms in their religious pageantries, than any native.

One of these nuns was of the first quality, which rendered the ceremony more remarkably fine. The manner of investing them was thus: in the morning her relations and friends all met at her father's house; whence, she being attired in her most sumptuous apparel, and a coronet placed on her head, they attended her, in cavalcade, to the nunnery, the streets and windows being crowded, and filled with spectators of all sorts.

So soon as she entered the chapel belonging to the nunnery, she kneeled down, and, with an appearance of much devotion, saluted the ground; then rising up, she advanced a step or two further; when on her knees she repeated the salutes; this done, she approached to the altar, where she remained till mass was over: after which, a sermon was preached by one of the priests, in praise, or rather in an exalted preference, of a single life. The sermon being over, the nun elect fell down on her knees before the altar; and, after some short mental orisons, rising again, she withdrew into an inner room, where, stripping off all her rich attire, she put on her nun's weeds; in which, making her appearance, she, again kneeling, offered up

some private devotions; which being over, she was led to the door of the nunnery, where the lady and the rest of the nuns stood ready to receive her with open arms. Thus entered, the nuns conducted her into the quire, where after they had entertained her with singing, and playing upon the organ, the ceremony concluded, and every one departed to their proper habitations.

The very same day of the year ensuing, the relations and friends of the fair novitiate meet again in the chapel of the nunnery, where the lady abbess brings her out, and delivers her to them. Then again is there a sermon preached on the same subject as at first; which being over, she is brought up to the altar in a decent, but plain dress; the fine apparel, which she put off on her initiation, being deposited on one side of the altar, and her nun's weeds on the other. Here the priest in Latin cries, *Utrum horum mavis, accipe:* to which she answers as her inclination, or as her instruction, directs her. If she, after this her year of probation, show any dislike, she is at liberty to come again into the world: but if awed by fear, (as too often is the case,) or won by expectation, or present real inclination, she makes choice of the nun's weeds, she is immediately invested, and must never expect to appear again in the world out of the walls of the nunnery. The young lady I saw thus invested was very beautiful, and sang the best of any in the nunnery.

There are in the town three nunneries, and a convent to every one of them; viz. one of Jesuits, one of Carmelites, and the other of Franciscans. Let me not be so far mistaken, to have this taken by way of reflection. No! whatever some of our rakes of the town may assert, I freely declare, that I never saw in any of the nunneries (of which I have seen many both in Spain and other parts of the world,) anything like indecent behaviour, that might give occasion for satire or dis-

esteem. It is true, there may be accidents, that may lead to a misinterpretation; of which I remember a very untoward instance in Alicant.

When the English forces first laid siege to that town, the priests, who were apprehensive of it, having been long since made sensible of the profound regard to chastity and modesty of us heretics, by the ignominious behaviour of certain officers at Rota and Porta St. Maria; the priests, I say, had taken care to send away privately all the nuns to Majorca. But that the heretic invaders might have no jealousy of it, the fair courtezans of the town were admitted to supply their room. The officers, both of land and sea, as was by the friars pre-imagined, on taking the town and castle, immediately repaired to the grates of the nunnery, tossed over their handkerchiefs, nosegays, and other pretty things; all which were doubtless very graciously received by those imaginary recluses. Thence came it to pass, that, in the space of a month or less, you could hardly fall into company of any one of our younger officers, of either sort, but the discourse, if it might deserve the name, was concerning these beautiful nuns; and you would have imagined the price of these ladies as well known as that of flesh in their common markets. Others, as well as myself, have often endeavoured to disabuse those gloriosos, but all to little purpose, till more sensible tokens convinced them that the nuns, of whose favours they so much boasted, could hardly be perfect virgins, though in a cloister. And I am apt to think those who would palm upon the world like vicious relations of nuns and nunneries, do it on much like grounds. Not that there are wanting instances of nunneries disfranchised, and even demolished upon very flagrant accounts; but I confine myself to Spain.

In this town of La Mancha, the corrigidore always has his presidence, having sixteen others under his jurisdiction, of which Almanza is one. They are

changed every three years, and their offices are the purchase of an excessive price, which occasions the poor people's being extravagantly fleeced, nothing being to be sold but at the rates they impose; and everything that is sold, paying the corrigidore an acknowledgment in specie, or an equivalent to his liking.

While I was here, news came of the battle of Almanar and Saragosa; and giving the victory to that side which they espoused, (that of king Philip,) they made very great rejoicings. But soon, alas, for them, was all that joy converted into sorrow: the next courier evincing that the forces of king Charles had been victorious in both engagements. This did not turn to my present disadvantage; for convents and nunneries, as well as some of those dons, whom afore I had not stood so well with, strove now how most to oblige me; not doubting but if the victorious army should march that way, it might be in my power to double the most signal of their services in my friendship.

Soon after, an accident fell out, which had like to have been of an unhappy consequence to me. I was standing in company, upon the parade, when a most surprising flock of eagles flew over our heads, where they hovered for a considerable time. The novelty struck them all with admiration, as well as myself. But I, less accustomed to like spectacles, innocently saying, that in my opinion, it could not bode any good to king Philip, because the eagle composed the arms of Austria; some busybody, in hearing, went and informed the corrigidore of it. Those most magisterial wretches embrace all occasions of squeezing money, and more especially from strangers. However, finding his expectations disappointed in me, and that I too well knew the length of his foot, to let my money run freely, he sent me next day to Alercon; but the governor of that place having had before intelligence that the English army was advancing that way, refused to receive me, so I returned as I went; only the gen-

tlemen of the place, as they had condoled the first, congratulated the last; for that corrigidore stood but very indifferently in their affections. However, it was a warning to me ever after, how I made use of English freedom in a Spanish territory.

As I had attained the acquaintance of most of the clergy and religious of the place, so particularly I had my aim in obtaining that of the provincial of the Carmelites. His convent, though small, was exceeding neat; but what to me was much more agreeable, there were very large gardens belonging to it, which often furnished me with sallading and fruit, and much oftener with walks of refreshment, the most satisfactory amusement in this warm climate. This acquaintance with the provincial was by a little incident soon advanced into a friendship, which was thus: I was one day walking, as I used to do, in the long gallery of the convent, when, observing the images of the Virgin Mary, of which there was one at each end, I took notice that one had an inscription under it, which was this: *Ecce Virgo peperit filium;* but the other had no inscription at all; upon which, I took out my pencil, and wrote underneath this line;

Sponsa Dei, patrisque parens, et filia filii.

The friars, who at a little distance had observed me, as soon as I was gone, came up and read what I had writ; reporting which to the provincial, he ordered them to be writ over in letters of gold, and placed just as I had put them; saying, doubtless such a fine line could proceed from nothing less than inspiration. This secured me, ever after, his and their esteem; the least advantage of which was a full liberty of their garden for all manner of fruit, sallading, or whatever I pleased: and, as I said before, the gardens were too fine not to render such a freedom acceptable.

They often want rain in this country; to supply the defect of which, I observed in this garden, as well

as others, an invention not unuseful. There is a well in the middle of the garden, and over that a wheel, with many pitchers, or buckets, one under another, which wheel being turned round by an ass, the pitchers scoop up the water on one side, and throw it out on the other into a trough, that by little channels conveys it, as the gardener directs, into every part of the garden. By this means their flowers and their sallading are continually refreshed, and preserved from the otherwise over-parching beams of the sun.

The Inquisition, in almost every town in Spain, (and more especially, if of any great account, has its spies, or informers, for treacherous intelligence. These make it their business to ensnare the simple and unguarded, and are more to be avoided by the stranger than the rattlesnake, nature having appointed no such happy tokens in the former to foreshow the danger. I had reason to believe that one of those vermin once made his attack upon me in this place: and as they are very rarely, if ever, known to the natives themselves, I, being a stranger, may be allowed to make a guess by circumstances.

I was walking by myself, when a person, wholly unknown to me, giving me the civil salute of the day, endeavoured to draw me into conversation. After questions had passed on general heads, the fellow ensnaringly asked me how it came to pass that I showed so little respect to the image of the crucified Jesus, as I passed by it in such a street, naming it? I made answer, that I had, or ought to have him always in my heart crucified. To that he made no reply: but, proceeding in his interrogatories, questioned me next, whether I believed a purgatory? I evaded the question, as I took it to be ensnaring; and only told him that I should be willing to hear him offer anything that might convince me of the truth, or probability of it. Truth? he replied in a heat: there never yet was man so holy as to enter heaven without first passing through

purgatory. In my opinion, said I, there will be no difficulty in convincing a reasonable man to the contrary. What mean you by that? cried the spy. I mean, said I, that I can name one, and a great sinner too, who went into bliss without any visit to purgatory. Name him if you can, replied my querist. What think you of the thief upon the cross, said I, to whom our dying Saviour said, *Hodie eris mecum in paradiso?* At which being silenced, though not convicted, he turned from me in a violent rage, and left me to myself.

What increased my first suspicion of him was, that a very short time after, my friend the provincial sent to speak with me; and repeating all passages between the holy spy and me, assured me that he had been forced to argue in my favour, and tell him that I had said nothing but well: For, says he, all ought to have the holy Jesus crucified in their hearts. Nevertheless, continued he, it is a commendable and good thing to have him represented in the highways. For suppose, said he, a man was going upon some base or profligate design, the very sight of a crucified Saviour may happen to subvert his resolution, and deter him from committing theft, murder, or any other of the deadly sins. And thus ended that conference.

I remember, upon some other occasional conversation after, the provincial told me, that in the Carmelite nunnery next to his convent, and under his care, there was a nun that was daughter to Don Juan of Austria; if so, her age must render her venerable as her quality.

Taking notice one day, that all the people of the place fetched their water from a well without the town, although they had many seemingly as good within, I spoke to Don Felix of it, who gave me, under the seal of secrecy, this reason for it: When the seat of the war, said he, lay in these parts, the French train of artillery was commonly quartered in this place; the officers and soldiers of which were so very rampant and rude,

in attempting to debauch our women, that there is not a well within the town which has not some Frenchmen's bones at the bottom of it; therefore the natives, who are sensible of it, choose rather to go further afield.

By this well there runs a little rivulet, which gives head to that famous river called the Guadiana; which running for some leagues under ground, affords a pretence for the natives to boast of a bridge on which they feed many thousands of sheep. When it rises again, it is a fine large river, and, after a currency of many leagues, empties itself into the Atlantic ocean.

As to military affairs, Almanar and Saragosa were victories so complete, that nobody made the least doubt of their settling the crown of Spain upon the head of Charles III. without a rival. This was not barely the opinion of his friends, but his very enemies resigned all hope or expectation in favour of king Philip. The Castilians, his most faithful friends, entertained no other imagination; for, after they had advised, and prevailed that the queen with the prince of Asturias should be sent to Victoria, under the same despondency, and a full dispiritedness, they gave him so little encouragement to stay in Madrid, that he immediately quitted the place, with a resolution to retire into his grandfather's dominions, the place of his nativity.

In his way to which, even on the last day's journey, it was his great good fortune to meet the duke of Vendosme, with some few troops, which his grandfather Louis XIV. of France had ordered to his succour, under that duke's command. The duke was grievously affected at such an unexpected catastrophe; nevertheless, he left nothing unsaid or undone, that might induce that prince to turn back; and at length prevailing, after a little rest, and a great deal of patience, by the coming in of his scattered troops, and some few he could raise, together with

those the duke brought with him, he once more saw himself at the head of twenty thousand men.

While things were in this manner, under motion in king Philip's favour, Charles III., with his victorious army, advances forward, and enters into Madrid, of which he made general Stanhope governor. And even here the Castilians gave full proof of their fidelity to their prince; even at the time when, in their opinion, his affairs were past all hopes of retrieve, they themselves having, by their advice, contributed to his retreat. Instead of prudential acclamations therefore, such as might have answered the expectations of a victorious prince, now entering into their capital, their streets were all in a profound silence, their balconies unadorned with costly carpets, as was customary on like occasions; and scarce an inhabitant to be seen in either shop or window.

This, doubtless, was no little mortification to a conquering prince: however, his generals were wise enough to keep him from showing any other tokens of resentment, than marching through the city with unconcern, and taking up his quarters at Villaverda, about a league from it.

Nevertheless king Charles visited, in his march, the chapel of the lady de Atocha, where finding several English colours and standards, taken in the battle of Almanza, there hung up, he ordered them to be taken down, and restored them to the English general.

It was the current opinion then, and almost universal consent has since confirmed it, that the falsest step in that whole war, was this advancement of king Charles to Madrid. After those two remarkable victories at Almanar and Saragosa, had he directed his march to Pampeluna, and obtained possession of that place, or some other near it, he had not only stopt all succours from coming out of France, but he would, in a great measure, have prevented the gathering together of any of the routed and dispersed forces of king Philip: and

it was the general notion of the Spaniards I conversed with while at Madrid, that had king Philip once again set his foot upon French land, Spain would never have been brought to have re-acknowledged him.

King Charles with his army having stayed some time about Madrid, and seeing his expectations of the Castilians joining him not at all answered, at last resolved to decamp, and return to Saragosa. Accordingly, with a very few troops, that prince advanced thither; while the main body, under the command of the generals Stanhope and Staremberg, passing under the very walls of Madrid, held on their march towards Arragon.

After about three days' march, general Stanhope took up his quarters at Breuhiga, a small town half walled; general Staremberg marching three leagues further, to Cifuentes. This choice of situation of the two several armies, not a little puzzled the politicians of those times; who could very indifferently account for the English general's lying exposed in an open town, with his few English forces, of which general Harvey's regiment of fine horse might be deemed the main, and general Staremberg encamping three leagues further off the enemy. But to see the vicissitudes of fortune, to which the actions of the bravest, by an untoward sort of fatality, are often forced to contribute! none who had been eyewitnesses of the bravery of either of those generals at the battles of Almanar and Saragosa, could find room to call in question either their conduct or their courage; and yet in this march, and this encampment, will appear a visible ill consequence to the affairs of the interest they fought for.

The duke of Vendosme having increased the forces which he brought from France to upwards of twenty thousand men, marches by Madrid directly for Breuhiga, where his intelligence informed him general Stanhope lay; and that so secretly, as well as swiftly, that that general knew nothing of it, nor could be persuaded to believe it, till the very moment their bullets from the

enemy's cannon convinced him of the truth. Breuhiga, I have said, was walled only on one side, and yet on that very side the enemy made their attack. But what could a handful do against a force so much superior, though they had not been in want of both powder and ball; and in want of these, were forced to make use of stones against all sorts of ammunition, which the enemy plied them with? The consequence answered the deficiency; they were all made prisoners of war, and Harvey's regiment of horse among the rest; which, to augment their calamity, was immediately remounted by the enemy, and marched along with their army to attack general Staremberg.

That general had heard somewhat of the march of Vendosme, and waited with some impatience to have the confirmation of it from general Stanhope, who lay between, and whom he lay under an expectation of being joined with; however, he thought it not improper to make some little advance towards him: and accordingly, breaking up from his camp at Cifuentes, he came back to Villa Viciosa, a little town between Cifuentes and Breuhiga. There he found Vendosme ready to attack him, before he could well be prepared for him, but no English to join him, as he had expected; nevertheless, the battle was hot, and obstinately fought; although Staremberg had visibly the advantage, having beat the enemy at least a league from their cannon; at which time, hearing of the misfortune of Breuhiga, and finding himself thereby frustrated of those expected succours to support him, he made a handsome retreat to Barcelona, which in common calculation is about a hundred leagues, without any disturbance of an enemy, that seemed glad to be rid of him. Nevertheless, his baggage having fallen into the hands of the enemy, at the beginning of the fight, king Philip and the duke of Vendosme generously returned it unopened, and untouched, in acknowledgment of his brave behaviour.

I had like to have omitted one material passage, which I was very credibly informed of; that general Carpenter offered to have gone, and have joined general Staremberg with the horse, which was refused him. This was certainly an oversight of the highest nature; since his going would have strengthened Staremberg almost to the assurance of an entire victory; whereas his stay was of no manner of service, but quite the contary: for, as I said before, the enemy, by remounting the English horse, (which perhaps were the completest of any regiment in the world,) turned, if I may be allowed the expression, the strength of our artillery upon our allies.

Upon this retreat of Staremberg, and the surprise at Breuhiga, there were great rejoicings at Madrid, and everywhere else, where king Philip's interest prevailed. And indeed it might be said, from that day the interest of king Charles looked with a very lowering aspect. I was still a prisoner at La Mancha, when this news arrived; and very sensibly affected at that strange turn of fortune. I was in bed when the express passed through the town, in order to convey it further; and in the middle of the night I heard a certain Spanish Don, with whom, a little before, I had had some little variance, thundering at my door, endeavouring to burst it open, with, as I had reason to suppose, no very favourable design upon me. But my landlady, who hitherto had always been kind and careful, calling Don Felix and some others of my friends together, saved me from the fury of his designs, whatever they were.

Among other expressions of the general joy upon this occasion, there was a bull-feast at La Mancha; which being much beyond what I saw at Valencia, I shall here give a description of. These bull-feasts are not so common now in Spain as formerly, king Philip not taking much delight in them. Nevertheless, as soon as it was published here, that there was to be one, no other discourse was heard; and in the talk of the

bulls, and the great preparations for the feast, men seemed to have lost, or to have laid aside, all thoughts of the very occasion. A week's time was allowed for the building of stalls for the beasts, and scaffolds for the spectators, and other necessary preparations for the setting off their joy with the most suitable splendour.

On the day appointed for the bringing the bulls into town, the cavalieroes mounted their horses, and with spears in their hands, rode out of town about a league, or somewhat more, to meet them: if any of the bulls break from the drove, and make an excursion, (as they frequently do,) the cavaliero that can make him return again to his station among his companions, is held in honour, suitable to the dexterity and address he performs it with. On their entrance into the town, all the windows are filled with spectators; a pope passing in grand procession could not have more; for what can be more than all? And he, or she, who should neglect so rare a show, would give occasion to have his or her legitimacy called in question.

When they came to the Plaza, where the stalls and scaffolds are built, and upon which the feats of chivalry are to be performed, it is often with a great deal of difficulty that the brutes are got in; for there are twelve stalls ,one for every bull, and as their number grows less by the installing of some, the remainder often prove more untractable and unruly; in these stalls they are kept very dark, to render them fiercer for the day of battle.

On the first of the days appointed, (for a bull-feast commonly lasts three,) all the gentry of the place, or near adjacent, resort to the Plaza in their most gaudy apparel, every one vying in making the most glorious appearance. Those in the lower ranks provide themselves with spears, or a great many small darts in their hands, which they fail not to cast or dart, whenever the bull, by his nearness, gives them an opportunity. So that the poor creature may be said to fight, not

only with the tauriro, (or bull-hunter, a person always hired for that purpose,) but with the whole multitude, in the lower class at least.

All being seated, the uppermost door is opened first; and as soon as ever the bull perceives the light, out he comes, snuffing up the air, and staring about him, as if in admiration of his attendants; and with his tail cocked up, he spurns the ground with his fore feet, as if he intended a challenge to his yet unappearing antagonist. Then, at a door appointed for that purpose, enters the tauriro all in white, holding a cloak in one hand, and a sharp two-edged sword in the other. The bull no sooner sets eyes upon him, but, wildly staring, he moves gently towards him; then gradually mends his pace, till he is come within about the space of twenty yards of the tauriro; when, with a sort of spring, he makes at him with all his might. The tauriro, knowing by frequent experience, that it behoves him to be watchful, slips aside just when the bull is at him; when casting his cloak over his horns, at the same moment he gives him a slash or two, always aiming at the neck, where there is one particular place, which if he hit, he knows he shall easily bring him to the ground. I myself observed the truth of this experiment made upon one of the bulls, who received no more than one cut, which, happening upon the fatal spot, so stunned him, that he remained perfectly stupid, the blood flowing out from the wound, till, after a violent trembling, he dropt down stone dead.

But this rarely happens, and the poor creature oftener receives many wounds, and numberless darts, before he dies. Yet whenever he feels a fresh wound, either from dart, spear, or sword, his rage receives addition from the wound, and he pursues his tauriro with an increase of fury and violence. And as often as he makes at his adversary, the tauriro takes care, with the utmost of his agility, to avoid him, and reward his kind intention with a new wound.

Some of their bulls will play their parts much better than others; but the best must die. For when they have behaved themselves with all the commendable fury possible, if the tauriro is spent, and fail of doing execution upon him, they set dogs upon him; hough him, and stick him all over with darts, till, with very loss of blood, he puts an end to their present cruelty.

When dead, a man brings in two mules dressed out with bells and feathers, and, fastening a rope about his horns, draws off the bull with the shouts and acclamations of the spectators, as if the infidels had been drove from before Ceuta.

I had almost forgot another very common piece of barbarous pleasure at these diversions. The tauriro will sometimes stick one of their bull-spears fast in the ground, aslant, but levelled as near as he can at his chest; then presenting himself to the bull, just before the point of the spear, on his taking his run at the tauriro, which, as they assured me, he always does with his eyes closed, the tauriro slips on one side, and the poor creature runs with a violence often to stick himself, and sometimes to break the spear in his chest, running away with part of it till he drop.

This tauriro was accounted one of the best in Spain; and indeed I saw him mount the back of one of the bulls, and ride on him, slashing and cutting, till he had quite wearied him; at which time dismounting, he killed him with much ease, and to the acclamatory satisfaction of the whole concourse: for variety of cruelty, as well as dexterity, administers to their delight.

The tauriroes are very well paid, and, in truth, so they ought to be; for they often lose their lives in the diversion, as this did the year after in the way of his calling. Yet is it a service of very great profit when they perform dexterously: for, whenever they do anything remarkable, deserving the notice of the spectators, they never fail of a generous gratification, money being thrown down to them in plenty.

This feast (as they generally do) lasted three days; the last of which was, in my opinion, much before either of the others. On this, a young gentleman, whose name was Don Pedro Ortega, a person of great quality, performed the exercise on horseback. The seats, if not more crowded, were filled with people of better fashion, who came from places at a distance to grace the noble tauriro.

He was finely mounted, and made a very graceful figure: but as, when the foot tauriro engages, the bull first enters; so, in this contest, the cavaliero always makes his appearance on the Plaza before the bull. His steed was a maneged horse; mounted on which, he made his entry, attended by four footmen in rich liveries; who, as soon as their master had rid round, and paid his devoirs to all the spectators, withdrew from the dangers they left him exposed to. The cavaliero having thus made his bows, and received the repeated *vivas* of that vast concourse, marched with a very stately air to the very middle of the Plaza, there standing ready to receive his enemy at coming out.

The door being opened, the bull appeared; and as I thought, with a fiercer and more threatening aspect than any of the former. He stared around him for a considerable time, snuffing up the air, and spurning the ground, without in the least taking notice of his antagonist. But, at last, fixing his eyes upon him, he made a full run at the cavaliero, which he most dexterously avoided, and, at the same moment of time, passing by, he cast a dart that stuck in his shoulders. At this, the shouts and *vivas* were repeated; and I observed a handkerchief waved twice or thrice, which, as I afterwards understood, was a signal from the lady of his affections, that she had beheld him with satisfaction. I took notice, that the cavaliero endeavoured all he could to keep aside the bull, for the advantage of the stroke; when, putting his horse on a full career, he threw another dart, which fixed in his side, and so

enraged the beast, that he seemed to renew his attacks with greater fury. The cavaliero had behaved himself to admiration, and escaped many dangers, with the often repeated acclamations of *viva, viva;* when, at last, the enraged creature getting his horns between the horse's hinder legs, man and horse came both together to the ground.

I expected at that moment nothing less than death could be the issue; when, to the general surprise, as well as mine, the very civil brute, author of all the mischief, only withdrew to the other side of the Plaza, where he stood still, staring about him as if he knew nothing of the matter.

The cavaliero was carried off not much hurt, but his delicate beast suffered much more. However, I could not but think afterward, that the good-natured bull came short of fair play. If I may be pardoned the expression, he had used his adversary with more humanity than he met with; at least, since, after he had the cavaliero under, he generously forsook him, I think he might have pleaded, or others for him, for better treatment than he after met with.

For, as the cavaliero was disabled and carried off, the foot tauriro entered in white accoutrements, as before; but he flattered himself with an easier conquest than he found. There is always on these occasions, when he apprehends any imminent danger, a place of retreat ready for the foot tauriro; and well for him there was so; this bull obliged him over and over to make use of it. Nor was he able at last to despatch him, without a general assistance; for I believe I speak within compass, when I say, he had more than a hundred darts stuck in him. And so barbarously was he mangled and slashed besides, that, in my mind, I could not but think king Philip in the right, when he said, That it was a custom deserved little encouragement.

Soon after this tauridore, or bull-feast, was over, I

had a mind to take a pleasant walk to a little town, called Minai, about three leagues off; but I was scarce got out of La Mancha, when an acquaintance meeting me, asked where I was going? I told him to Minai; when, taking me by the hand, Friend Gorgio, says he in Spanish, come back with me; you shall not go a stride further; there are Picarons that way; you shall not go. Inquiring, as we went back, into his meaning, he told me, that the day before, a man, who had received a sum of money in pistoles at La Mancha, was, on the road, set upon by some, who had got notice of it, and murdered him; that, not finding the money expected about him, (for he had cautiously enough left it in a friend's hands at La Mancha,) they concluded he had swallowed it; and therefore they ript up his belly, and opened every gut; but all to as little purpose. This diverted my walk for that time.

But, some little time after, the same person inviting me over to the same place, to see his melon-grounds, which in that country are wonderful fine and pleasant, I accepted his invitation, and, under the advantage of his company, went thither. On the road, I took notice of a cross newly erected, and a multitude of small stones around the foot of it: asking the meaning whereof, my friend told me, that it was raised for a person there murdered, (as is the custom throughout Spain,) and that every good catholic, passing by, held it his duty to cast a stone upon the place, in detestation of the murder. I had often before taken notice of many such crosses: but never till then knew the meaning of their erection, or the reason of the heaps of stones around them.

There is no place in all Spain more famous for good wine than Sainte Clemente de la Mancha; nor is it anywhere sold cheaper: for, as it is only an inland town, near no navigable river, and the people temperate to a proverb, great plenty, and a small vend, must consequently make it cheap. The wine here is so

famous, that, when I came to Madrid, I saw wrote over the doors of most houses that sold wine, *Vino Sainte Clemente.* As to the temperance of the people, I must say, that, notwithstanding those two excellent qualities of good and cheap, I never saw, all the three years I was prisoner there, any one person overcome with drinking.

It is true, there may be a reason, and a political one, assigned for that abstemiousness of theirs, which is this, that if any man, upon any occasion, should be brought in as an evidence against you, if you can prove that he was ever drunk, it will invalidate his whole evidence. I could not but think this a grand improvement upon the Spartans. They made their slaves purposely drunk, to show their youth the folly of the vice by the sottish behaviour of their servants under it: but they never reached to that noble height of laying a penalty upon the aggressor, or of discouraging a voluntary impotence of reason by a disreputable impotence of interest. The Spaniard, therefore, in my opinion, in this exceeds the Spartan, as much as a natural beauty exceeds one procured by art; for, though shame may somewhat influence some few, terror is of force to deter all. A man, we have seen it, may shake hands with shame; but interest, says another proverb, will never lie. A wise institution, therefore, doubtless is this of the Spaniard; but such as I fear will never take place in Germany, Holland, France, or Great Britain.

But though I commend their temperance, I would not be thought by any means to approve of their bigotry. If there may be such a thing as intemperance in religion, I much fear their ebriety in that will be found to be over-measure. Under the notion of devotion, I have seen men among them, and of sense too, guilty of the grossest intemperances. It is too common to be a rarity, to see their Dons of the prime quality, as well as those of the lower ranks, upon meeting a

priest in the open streets, condescend to take up the lower part of his vestment, and salute it with eyes erected, as if they looked upon it as the seal of salvation.

When the Ave-bell is heard, the hearer must down on his knees upon the very spot; nor is he allowed the small indulgence of deferring a little, till he can recover a clean place; dirtiness excuses not, nor will dirty actions by any means exempt. This is so notorious, that even at the playhouse, in the middle of a scene, on the first sound of the bell, the actors drop their discourse; the auditors supersede the indulging of their unsanctified ears, and all, on their knees, bend their tongues, if not their hearts, quite a different way to what they just before had been employed in. In short, though they pretend in all this to an extraordinary measure of zeal and real devotion, no man, that lives among them any time, can be a proselyte to them, without immolating his senses and his reason: yet I must confess, while I have seen them thus deluding themselves with Ave Marias, I could not refrain throwing up my eyes to the only proper object of adoration, in commiseration of such delusions.

The hours of the Ave-bell, are eight and twelve in the morning, and six in the evening. They pretend, at the first, to fall down to beg that God would be pleased to prosper them in all things they go about that day. At twelve, they return thanks for their preservation to that time; and at six, for that of the whole day. After which, one would think that they imagine themselves at perfect liberty; and their open gallantries perfectly countenance the imagination: for, though adultery is looked upon as a grievous crime, and punished accordingly, yet fornication is softened with the title of a venial sin, and they seem to practise it under that persuasion.

I found here, what Erasmus riducles with so much wit and delicacy, the custom of burying in a Franciscan's habit, in mighty request. If they can for that purpose pro-

cure an old one at the price of a new one, the purchaser will look upon himself a provident chap, that has secured to his deceased friend or relation, no less han heaven by that wise bargain.

The evening being almost the only time of enjoyment of company, or conversation, everybody in Spain then greedily seeks it; and the streets are at that time crowded like our finest gardens, or most private walks. On one of those occasions, I met a Don of my acquaintance walking out with his sisters; and, as I thought it became an English cavalier, I saluted him: but, to my surprise, he never returned the civility. When I met him the day after, instead of an apology, as I had flattered myself, I received a reprimand, though a very civil one; telling me, it was not the custom in Spain, nor well taken of any one, that took notice of any who were walking in the company of ladies at night.

But, a night or two after, I found, by experience, that, if the men were by custom prohibited taking notice, women were not. I was standing at the door, in the cool of the evening, when a woman, seemingly genteel, passing by, called me by my name, telling me she wanted to speak with me: she had her mantilio on; so that, had I had daylight, I could have only seen one eye of her. However, I walked with her a good while, without being able to discover anything of her business, nor passed there between us anything more than a conversation upon indifferent matters. Nevertheless, at parting, she told me she should pass by again the next evening; and if I would be at the door, she would give me the same advantage of a conversation, that seemed not to displease me. Accordingly, the next night she came, and, as before, we walked together in the privatest parts of the town: for, though I knew her not, her discourse was always entertaining and full of wit, and her inquiries not often improper. We had continued this intercourse many nights together, when my landlady's daughter, having taken notice of it, stopt me one evening,

and would not allow me to stand at the usual post of intelligence, saying, with a good deal of heat, Don Gorgio, take my advice; go no more along with that woman; you may soon be brought home deprived of your life, if you do. I cannot say whether she knew her; but this I must say, she was very agreeable in wit, as well as person. However, my landlady and her daughter took that opportunity of giving me so many instances of the fatal issues of such innocent conversations, (for I could not call it an intrigue,) that, apprehensive enough of the danger, on laying circumstances together, I took their advice, and never went into her company after.

Sainte Clemente de la Mancha, where I so long remained a prisoner of war, lies in the road from Madrid to Valencia; and the duke of Vendosme being ordered to the latter, great preparations were made for his entertainment, as he passed through. He stayed here only one night, where he was very handsomely treated by the corregidore. He was a tall fair person, and very fat, and at the time I saw him wore a long black patch over his left eye; but on what occasion I could not learn. The afterwards famous Alberoni, (since made a cardinal,) was in his attendance; as, indeed, the duke was very rarely without him. I remember that very day three weeks, they returned through the same place; the duke in his hearse, and Alberoni in a coach, paying his last duties. That duke was a prodigious lover of fish, of which having eat over-heartily at Veneros, in the province of Valencia, he took a surfeit, and died in three days' time. His corpse was carrying to the Escurial, there to be buried in the Pantheon among their kings.

The Castilians have a privilege, by license from the pope, which, if it could have been converted into a prohibition, might have saved that duke's life: in regard their country is wholly inland, and the river Tagus, famous for its poverty, or rather barrenness, their Holy Father indulges the natives with the liberty, in

lieu of that dangerous eatable, of eating all Lent-time the inwards of cattle. When I first heard this related, I imagined, that the garbage had been intended; but I was soon after thus rectified,—by inwards, (for so expressly says the license itself,) is meant the heart, the liver, and the feet.

They have here, as well as in most other parts of Spain, Valencia excepted, the most wretched music in the universe. Their guitars, if not their sole, are their darling instruments, and what they most delight in: though, in my opinion, our English sailors are not much amiss in giving them the title of strum-strums. They are little better than our jews'-harp, though hardly half so musical. Yet are they perpetually at nights disturbing their women with the noise of them, under the notion and name of serenadoes. From the barber to the grandee the infection spreads, and very often with the same attendant, danger; night quarrels and rencounters being the frequent result. The true-born Spaniards reckon it a part of their glory, to be jealous of their mistresses, which is too often the forerunner of murders; or at best, attended with many other very dangerous inconveniences. And yet, bad as their music is, their dancing is the reverse. I have seen a country girl manage her castanets with the graceful air of a duchess, and that not to common music, but to people's beating or drumming a tune with their hands on a table. I have seen half a dozen couple at a time dance to the like in excellent order.

I just now distinguished, by an exception, the music of Valencia, where alone I experienced the use of the violin; which, though I cannot, in respect to other countries, call good, yet, in respect to the other parts of Spain, I must acknowledge it much the best. In my account of that city, I omitted to speak of it; therefore now, to supply that defect, I will speak of the best I heard, which was on this unfortunate occasion: several natives of that country, having received

sentence of death for their adherence to king Charles, were accordingly ordered to the place of execution. It is the custom there, on all such occasions, for all the the music of the city to meet near the gallows, and play the most affecting and melancholy airs, to the very approach of the condemned; and really the music was so moving, it heightened the scene of sorrow, and brought compassion into the eyes even of enemies.

As to the condemned, they came stript of their own clothes, and covered with black frocks, in which they were led along the streets to the place of execution, the friars praying all the way. When they came through any street, where any public images were fixed, they stayed before them some reasonable time in prayer with the friars. When they are arrived at the the fatal place, those fathers leave them not, but continue praying and giving them ghostly encouragement, standing upon the rounds of the ladder till they are turned off. The hangman always wears a silver badge of a ladder to distinguish his profession: but his manner of executing his office had somewhat in it too singular to allow of silence. When he had tied fast the hands of the criminal, he rested his knee upon them, and with one hand on the criminal's nostrils, to stop his breath the sooner, threw himself off the ladder along with the dying party. This he does to expedite his fate; though, considering the force, I wonder it does not tear head and body asunder; which yet I never heard that it did.

But, to return to La Mancha:—I had been there now upwards of two years, much diverted with the good humour and kindness of the gentlemen, and daily pleased with the conversation of the nuns of the nunnery opposite to my lodgings; when, walking one day alone upon the Plaza, I found myself accosted by a clerico. At the first attack, he told me his country; but added, that he now came from Madrid with a Potent, (that was his word,) from Pedro de Dios, dean of the

inquisition, to endeavour the conversion of any of the English prisoners; that being an Irishman, as a sort of a brother, he had conceived a love for the English, and therefore more eagerly embraced the opportunity, which the holy inquisition had put into his hands, for the bringing over to mother church as many heretics as he could; that, having heard a very good character of me, he should think himself very happy, if he could be instrumental in my salvation: It is very true, continued he, I have lately had the good fortune to convert many; and besides the candour of my own disposition, I must tell you, that I have a peculiar knack at conversion, which very few, if any, ever could resist. I am going upon the same work into Murcia; but your good character has fixed me in my resolution of preferring your salvation to that of others.

To this very long, and no less surprising address, I only returned, that it being an affair of moment, it would require some consideration; and that by the time he returned from Murcia, I might be able to return him a proper answer. But not at all satisfied with this reply; Sir, says he, God Almighty is all sufficient: this moment is too precious to be lost; he can turn the heart in the twinkling of an eye, as well as in twenty years. Here me then; mind what I say to you: I will convince you immediately. You heretics do not believe in transubstantiation, and yet did not our Saviour say in so many wards, *Hoc est corpus meum?* And if you do not believe him, do not you give him the lie? Besides, does not one of the Fathers say, *Deus, qui est omnis veritas, non potest dicere falsum?* He went on at the same ridiculous rate; which soon convinced me, he was a thorough rattle. However, as a clerico, and consequently, in this country, a man dangerous to disoblige, I invited him home to dinner; where, when I had brought him, I found I had no way done an unacceptable thing; for my landlady and her daughter,

seeing him to be a clergyman, received him with a vast deal of respect and pleasure.

Dinner being over, he began to entertain me with a detail of the many wonderful conversions he had made upon obstinate heretics; that he had convinced the most stubborn, and had such a *nostrum*, that he would undertake to convert any one. Here he began his old round, intermixing his harangue with such scraps and raw sentences of fustian Latin, that I grew weary of of his conversation; so, pretending some business of consequence, I took leave, and left him and my landlady together.

I did not return till pretty late in the evening with intent to give him time enough to think his own visit tedious; but, to my great surprise, I found my Irish missionary still on the spot, ready to dare me to the encounter, and resolved, like a true son of the church militant, to keep last in the field of battle. As soon as I had seated myself, he began again to tell me how good a character my landlady had given me, which had prodigiously increased his ardour of saving my soul; that he could not answer it to his own character, as well as mine, to be negligent; and therefore he had entered into a resolution to stay my coming, though it had been later. To all which, I returned him abundance of thanks for his good will, but pleading indisposition and want of rest, after a good deal of civil impertinence, I once more got rid of him; at least, I took my leave, and went to bed, leaving him again master of the field; for I understood next morning, that he stayed some time after I was gone, with my good landlady.

Next morning, the nuns of the nunnery opposite, having taken notice of the clerico's ingress, long visit, and late egress, sent to know whether he was my countryman; with many other questions, which I was not then let into the secret of. To all which I returned,

that he was no countryman of mine, but an Irishman, and so perfectly a stranger to me, that I knew no more of him than what I had from his own mouth, that he was going into Murcia. What the meaning of this inquiry was I could never learn; but I could not doubt, but it proceeded from their great care of their vicino, as they called me; a mark of their esteem, and of which I was not a little proud.

As was my usual custom, I had been taking my morning walk, and had not been long come home in order to dinner, when in again drops my Irish clerico: I was confounded, and vexed, and he could not avoid taking notice of it; nevertheless, without the least alteration of countenance, he took his seat; and on my saying, in a cold and indifferent tone, that I imagined he had been got to Murcia, before this; he replied, with a natural fleer, that truly he was going to Murcia, but his conscience pricked him, and he did find that he could not go away with any satisfaction, or peace of mind, without making me a perfect convert; that he had plainly discovered in me a good disposition, and had, for that very reason, put himself to the charge of man and mule, to the bishop of Cuenca for a license, under his hand, for my conversion: for in Spain, all private missionaries are obliged to ask leave of the next bishop, before they dare enter upon any enterprise of this nature.

I was more confounded at this last assurance of the man than at all before; and it put me directly upon reflecting, whether any, and what inconveniences might ensue, from a rencounter that I at first conceived ridiculous, but might now reasonably begin to have more dangerous apprehensions of. I knew, by the articles of war, all persons are exempted from any power of the inquisition; but whether carrying on a part in such a farce, might not admit, or at least be liable to some dangerous construction, was not imprudently now to be considered. Though I was not fearful, yet I resolved

to be cautious. Wherefore, not making any answer to his declaration about the bishop, he took notice of it; and, to raise a confidence he found expiring, began to tell me, that his name was Murtough Brennan, that he was born near Kilkenny of a very considerable family. This last part indeed, when I came to Madrid, I found pretty well confirmed in a considerable manner. However, taking notice that he had altered his tone of leaving the town, and that, instead of it, he was advancing somewhat like an invitation of himself to dinner the next day, I resolved so show myself shy of him; and thereupon abruptly, and without taking my leave, I left the room, and my landlady and him together.

Three or four days had passed, every one of which he never failed my lodgings; not at dinner-time only, but night and morning too; from all which I began to suspect, that, instead of my conversion, he had fixed upon a reconversion of my landlady. She was not young, yet, for a black woman, handsome enough; and her daughter very pretty; I entered into a resolution to make my observations, and watch them all at a distance; nevertheless carefully concealing my jealousy. However, I must confess, I was not a little pleased, that anything could divert my own persecution. He was now no longer my guest, but my landlady's, with whom I found him so much taken up, that a little care might frustrate all his former impertinent importunities on the old topic.

But all my suspicions were very soon after turned into certainties in this manner: I had been abroad, and returning somewhat weary, I went to my chamber, to take, what in that country they call, a cesto, upon my bed: I got in unseen, or without seeing anybody, but had scarce laid myself down, before my young landlady, as I jestingly used to call the daughter, rushing into my room, threw herself down on the floor, bitterly exclaiming. I started off my bed, and immediately running to the door, who should I meet there but my

Irish clerico, without his habit, and in his shirt? I could not doubt, by the dishabille of the clerico, but the young creature had reason enough for her passion, which rendered me quite unable to master mine; wherefore, as he stood with his back next the door, I thrust him in that ghostly plight into the open street.

I might, with leisure enough, have repented that precipitate piece of indiscretion, if it had not been for his bad character, and the favourable opinion the town had conceived of me; for he inordinately exclaimed against me, calling me heretic, and telling the people, who were soon gathered round him, that, coming to my lodgings on the charitable work of conversion, I had thus abused him, stript him of his habit, and then turned him out of doors. The nuns, on their hearing the outcries he made, came running to their grates, to inquire into the matter; and when they understood it, as he was pleased to relate it, though they condemned my zeal, they pitied my condition. Very well was it for me, that I stood more than a little well in the good opinion of the town; among the gentry, by my frequent conversation, and the inferior sort by my charitable distributions; for nothing can be more dangerous, or a nearer way to violent fate, than to insult one of the clergy in Spain, and especially for such an one as they entitle a heretic.

My old landlady, (I speak in respect to her daughter,) however formerly my seeming friend, came in a violent passion, and, wrenching the door out of my hands, opened it, and pulled her clerico in; and, so soon as she had done this, she took his part, and railed so bitterly at me, that I had no reason longer to doubt her thorough conversion, under the full power of his mission. However, the young one stood her ground, and, by all her expressions, gave her many inquirers reason enough to believe, all was not matter of faith that the clerico had advanced. Nevertheless, holding

it advisable to change my lodgings, and a friend confirming my resolutions, I removed that night.

The clerico, having put on his upper garments, was run away to the corregidore, in a violent fury, resolving to be early, as well knowing, that he, who tells his story first, has the prospect of telling it to double advantage. When he came there, he told that officer a thousand idle stories, and in the worst manner; repeating how I had abused him, and not him only, but my poor landlady, for taking his part. The corregidore was glad to hear it all, and with an officious ear fished for a great deal more; expecting, according to usage, at last to squeeze a sum of money out of me. However, he told the clerico, that, as I was a prisoner of war, he had no direct power over me; but if he would immediately write to the president Ronquillo, at Madrid, he would not fail to give his immediate orders, according to which he would as readily act against me.

The clerico resolved to pursue his old maxim and cry out first; and so taking the corregidore's advice, he wrote away to Madrid directly. In the mean time, the people in the town, both high and low, some out of curiosity, some out of friendship, pursued their inquiries into the reality of the facts. The old landlady they could make little of to my advantage; but whenever the young one came to the question, she always left them with these words in her mouth, *El Diabolo en forma del Clerico*, which rendering things more than a little cloudy on the clerico's side, he was advised and pressed by his few friends, as fast as he could, to get out of town; nuns, clergy, and everybody taking part against him, excepting his new convert, my old landlady.

The day after, as I was sitting with a friend at my new quarters, Maria (for that was the name of my landlady's daughter) came running in with these words in her mouth, *El clerico, el clerico, passa la calle.* We

hastened to the window; out of which we beheld the clerico, Murtough Brennan, pitifully mounted on the back of a very poor ass, for they would neither let nor lend him a mule through all the town; his legs almost rested on the ground, for he was lusty, as his ass was little; and a fellow with a large cudgel marched afoot, driving his ass along. Never did Sancho Pancha, on his embassage to Dulcinea, make such a despicable out-of-the-way figure, as our clerico did at this time. And what increased our mirth was, their telling me, that our clerico, like that squire, (though upon his own priest-errantry,) was actually on his march to Toboso, a place five leagues off, famous for the nativity of Dulcinea, the object of the passion of that celebrated hero Don Quixotte. So I will leave our clerico on his journey to Murcia, to relate the unhappy sequel of this ridiculous affair.

I have before said, that, by the advice of the corregidore, our clerico had wrote to Don Ronquillo at Madrid. About a fortnight after his departure from La Mancha, I was sitting alone in my new lodgings, when two alguazils, (officers under the corregidore, and in the nature of our bailiffs,) came into my room, but very civilly, to tell me, that they had orders to carry me away to prison; but at the same moment, they advised me not to be afraid; for they had observed, that the whole town was concerned at what the corregidore and clerico had done; adding, that it was their opinion, that I should find so general a friendship, that I need not be apprehensive of any danger. With these plausible speeches, though I afterwards experienced the truth of them, I resigned myself, and went with them to a much closer confinement.

I had not been there above a day or two, before many gentlemen of the place sent to me, to assure me, they were heartily afflicted at my confinement, and resolved to write in my favour to Madrid; but as it was not safe, nor the custom in Spain, to visit those in my

present circumstances, they hoped I would not take it amiss, since they were bent to act all in their power towards my deliverance; concluding, however, with their advice, that I would not give one real of Plata to the corregidore, whom they hated, but confide in their assiduous interposal. Don Pedro de Ortega in particular, the person that performed the part of the tauriro on horseback, sometime before, sent me word, he would not fail to write to a relation of his, of the first account in Madrid, and so represent the affair, that I should not long be debarred my old acquaintance.

It may administer, perhaps, matter of wonder, that Spaniards, gentlemen of the staunchest punctilio, should make a scruple, and excuse themselves from visiting persons under confinement, when, according to all Christian acceptation, such a circumstance would render such a visit, not charitable only, but generous. But though men of vulgar spirits might, from the narrowness of their views, form such insipid excuses, those of these gentlemen, I very well knew, proceeded from much more excusable topics. I was committed under the accusation of having abused a sacred person, one of the clergy; and though, as a prisoner of war, I might deem myself exempt from the power of the Inquisition, yet how far one of that country, visiting a person, so accused, might be esteemed culpable, was a consideration in that dangerous climate, far from deserving to be slighted. To me, therefore, who well knew the customs of the country, and the temper of its countrymen, their excuses were not only allowable, but acceptable also: for, without calling in question their charity, I verily believed I might safely confide in their honour.

Accordingly, after I had been a close prisoner one month to a day, I found the benefit of these gentlemen's promises and solicitations; pursuant to which, an order was brought for my immediate discharge; notwithstanding, the new convert, my old landlady, did all she

could to make her appearing against me effectual, to the height of her prejudice and malice, even while the daughter, as sensible of my innocence, and acting with a much better conscience, endeavoured as much to justify me, against both the threats and persuasions of the corregidore, and his few accomplices, though her own mother made one.

After receipt of this order for my enlargement, I was mightily pressed by Don Felix, and others of my friends, to go to Madrid, and enter my complaint against the corregidore and the clerico, as a thing highly essential to my own future security. Without asking leave, therefore, of the correigdore, or in the least acquainting him with it, I set out from La Mancha, and, as I afterwards understood, to the terrible alarm of that griping officer, who was under the greatest consternation when he heard I was gone; for, as he knew very well that he had done more than he could justify, he was very apprehensive of any complaint; well knowing, that as he was hated as much as I was beloved, he might assure himself of the want of that assistance from the gentlemen, which I had experienced.

So soon as I arrived at Madrid, I made it my business to inquire out and wait upon Father Fahy, chief of the Irish college. He received me very courteously; but when I acquainted him with the treatment I had met with from Brennan, and had given him an account of his other scandalous behaviour, I found he was no stranger to the man, or his character; for he soon confirmed to me the honour Brennan first boasted of, his considerable family, by saying, that scarce an assize passed in his own country, without two or three of that name receiving at the gallows the just reward of their demerits. In short, not only Father Fahy, but all the clergy of that nation at Madrid, readily subscribed to this character of him, that he was a scandal to their country.

After this, I had nothing more to do, but to get that

Father to go with me to Pedro de Dios, who was the head of the Dominican cloister, and dean of the Inquisition. He readily granted my request; and when we came there, in a manner unexpected, represented to the dean, that having some good dispositions towards mother-church, I had been diverted from them, he feared, by the evil practices of one Murtough Brennan, a countryman of his, though a scandal to his country; that, under a pretence of seeking my conversion, he had laid himself open in a most beastly manner, such as would have set a catholic into a vile opinion of their religion, and much more one that was yet a heretic. The dean had hardly patience to hear particulars; but as soon as my friend had ended his narration, he immediately gave his orders, prohibiting Murtough's saying any more masses, either in Madrid, or any other place in Spain. This indeed was taking away the poor wretch's sole subsistence, and putting him just upon an equality with his demerits.

I took the same opportunity to make my complaints of the corregidore; but his term expiring very soon, and a process being likely to be chargeable, I was advised to let it drop. So having effected what I came for, I returned to my old station at La Mancha.

When I came back, I found a new corregidore, as I had been told there would, by the dean of the Inquisition, who, at the same time, advised me to wait on him. I did so, soon after my arrival, and then experienced the advice to be well intended; the dean having wrote a letter to him, to order him to treat me with all manner of civility. He showed me the very letter, and it was in such particular and obliging terms, that I could not but perceive he had taken a resolution, if possible, to eradicate all the evil impressions that Murtough's behaviour might have given too great occasion for. This served to confirm me in an observation that I had long before made, that a protestant, who will prudently keep his sentiments in his own

breast, may command anything in Spain; where their stiff bigotry leads them naturally into that other mistake, that not to oppose, is to assent. Besides, it is generally among them almost a work of supererogation to be even instrumental in the conversion of one they call a heretic. To bring any such back to what they call mother-church, nothing shall be spared, nothing thought too much: and if you have insincerity enough to give them hopes, you shall not only live in ease, but in pleasure and plenty.

I had entertained some thoughts on my journey back, of taking up my old quarters at the widow's; but found her so entirely converted by her clerico, that there would be no room to expect peace: for which reason, with the help of my fair vicinos, and Don Felix, I took another, where I had not been long before I received an unhappy account of Murtough's conduct in Murcia. It seems he had kept his resolution in going thither; where meeting with some of his own countrymen, though he found them staunch good catholics, he so far inveigled himself into them, that he brought them all into a foul chance for their lives. There were three of them, all soldiers, in a Spanish regiment; but in a fit of ambitious, though frantic zeal, Murtough had wheedled them to go along with him to Pedro de Dios, dean of the Inquisition, to declare and acknowledge before him, that they were converted and brought over to mother-church, and by him only. The poor ignorants, thus enticed, had left their regiment, of which the colonel having notice, sent after them, and they were overtaken on the road, their missionair with them. But notwithstanding all his oratory, nay, even the discovery of the whole farce, one of them was hanged for an example to the other two.

It was not long after my return before news arrived of the peace; which though they received with joy, they could hardly entertain with belief. Upon which, the new corregidore, with whom I held a better corre-

spondence than I had done with the old one, desired me to produce my letters from England, that it was true. Never did people give greater demonstrations of joy than they upon this occasion. It was the common cry in the streets, *Paz con Angleterra, con todo Mundo Guerra!* and my confirmation did them as much pleasure as it did service to me; for, if possible, they treated me with more civility than before.

But the peace soon after being proclaimed, I received orders to repair to Madrid, where the rest of the prisoners taken at Denia had been carried; when I, by reason of my wounds, and want of health, had been left behind. Others I understood lay ready, and some were on their march to Bayonne in France, where ships were ordered for their transportation into England. So, after a residence of three years and three months, having taken leave of all my acquaintance, I left a place that was almost become natural to me, the delicious Sainte Clemente de la Mancha.

Nothing of moment, or worth observing, met I with, till I came near Ocanna; and there occurred a sight ridiculous enough. The knight of the town I last came from, the ever renowned Don Quixotte, never made such a figure as a Spaniard I there met on the road. He was mounted on a mule of the largest size, and yet no way unsizeable to his person: he had two pistols in his holsters, and one on each side stuck in his belt; a sort of large blunderbuss in one of his hands, and the fellow to it, slung over his shoulders, hung at his back. All these were accompanied with a right Spanish spado, and an attendant stiletto, in their customary position. The muleteer that was my guide, calling out to him in Spanish, told him he was very well armed; to which, with a great deal of gravity, the Don returned answer, By Saint Jago, a man cannot be too well armed in such dangerous times!

I took up my quarters that night at Ocanna, a large, neat, and well-built town. Houses of good reception

and entertainment are very scarce all over Spain, but that, where I then lay, might have passed for good in any other country. Yet it gave me a notion quite different to what I found; for I imagined it to proceed from my near approach to the capital. But instead of that, contrary to all other countries, the nearer I came to Madrid, the houses of entertainment grew worse and worse; not in their rates do I mean, (for that with reason enough might have been expected,) but even in their provision, and places and way of reception. I could not, however, forbear smiling at the reason given by my muleteer, that it proceeded from a piece of court policy, in order to oblige all travellers to hasten to Madrid.

Two small leagues from Ocanna we arrived at Aranjuez, a seat of pleasure, which the kings of Spain commonly select for their place of residence during the months of April and May. It is distant from Madrid about seven leagues; and the country round is the pleasantest in all Spain, Valencia excepted. The house itself makes but very indifferent appearance; I have seen many a better in England with an owner to it of no more than 500*l.* per annum; yet the gardens are large and fine; or, as the Spaniards say, the finest in all Spain, which with them is all the world. They tell you at the same time, that those of Versailles, in their most beautiful parts, took their model from these. I never saw those at Versailles; but, in my opinion, the walks at Aranjeuz, though noble in their length, lose much of their beauty by their narrowness.

The waterworks here are a great curiosity; to which the river Tagus, running along close by, does mightily contribute. That river is let into the gardens by a vast number of little canals, which, with their pleasing meanders, divert the eye with inexpressible delight. These pretty wanderers, by pipes properly placed in them, afford varieties scarce to be believed or imagined; and which would be grateful in any climate, but much

more where the air, as it does here, wants in the summer months perpetual cooling.

To see a spreading tree, as growing in its natural soil, distinguished from its pining neighbourhood by a gentle refreshing shower, which appears softly distilling from every branch and leaf thereof, while nature all around is smiling, without one liquid sign of sorrow, to me appeared surprisingly pleasing. And the more when I observed, that its neighbours received not any the least benefit of that plentiful effusion; and yet a very few trees distant, you shall find a dozen together under the same healthful sudor. Where art imitates nature well, philosophers hold it a perfection; then what must she exact of us, where we find her transcendant in the perfections of nature?

The watery arch is nothing less surprising; where art, contending with nature, acts against the laws of nature, and yet is beautiful. To see a liquid stream vaulting itself for the space of threescore yards into a perfect semi-orb, will be granted by the curious to be rare and strange; but sure, to walk beneath that arch, and see the waters flowing over your head, without your receiving the minutest drop, is stranger, if not strange enough to stagger all belief.

The story of Actæon, pictured in water colours, if I may so express myself, though pretty, seemed to me but trifling to the other. Those seemed to be like nature miraculously displayed; this only fable in grotesque. The figures indeed were not only fine, but extraordinary; yet their various shapes were not at all so entertaining to the mind, however refreshing they might be found to the body.

I took notice before of the straitness of their walks; but though to me it might seem a diminution of their beauty, I am apt to believe to the Spaniard, for and by whom they were laid out, it may seem otherwise. They, of both sexes, give themselves so intolerably up to amouring, that, on that account, the

closeness of the walks may be looked upon as an advantage rather than a defect. The grand avenue to the house is much more stately, and composed, as they are, of rows of trees somewhat larger than our largest limes, whose leaves are all of a perfect pea-bloom colour, together with their grandeur, they strike the eye with a pleasing beauty. At the entrance of the grand court we see the statue of Philip II.; to intimate to the spectators, I suppose, that he was the founder

Among other parks about Aranjuez, there is one entirely preserved for dromedaries; an useful creature for fatigue, burden, and despatch; but the nearest of kin to deformity of any I ever saw. There are several other inclosures for several sorts of strange and wild beasts, which are sometimes baited in a very large pond, that was shown me about half a league from hence. This is no ordinary diversion; but when the court is disposed that way, the beast, or beasts, whether bear, lion, or tiger, are conveyed into a house prepared for that purpose; whence he can no other way issue than by a door over the water, through, or over which, forcing or flinging himself, he gradually finds himself, descend into the very depth of the pond by a wooden declivity. The dogs stand ready on the banks, and so soon as ever they spy their enemy, rush all at once into the water, and engage him. A diversion less to be complained of than their tauridores, because attended with less cruelty to the beast, as well as danger to the spectators.

When we arrived at Madrid, a town much spoken of by natives, as well as strangers, though I had seen it before, I could hardly restrain myself from being surprised to find it only environed with mud walls. It may very easily be imagined, they were never intended for defence, and yet it was a long time before I could find any other use, or rather any use at all, in them; and yet I was at last convinced of my error by a sen-

sible increase of expense. Without the gates, to half a league without the town, you have wine for twopence the quart; but within the place, you drink it little cheaper than you may in London. The mud walls, therefore, well enough answer their intent of forcing people to reside there, under pretence of security, but, in reality, to be taxed; for other things are taxable as well as wine, though not in like proportion.

All ambassadors have a claim or privilege of bringing in what wine they please tax-free; and the king, to waive it, will at any time purchase that exemption of duty at the price of five hundred pistoles per annum. The convents and nunneries are allowed a like license of free importation; and it is one of the first advantages they can boast of; for, under that license, having a liberty of setting up a tavern near them, they make a prodigious advantage of it. The wine drank and sold in this place is for the most part a sort of white wine.

But if the mud walls gave me at first but a faint idea of the place, I was pleasingly disappointed, as soon as I entered the gates. The town then showed itself well built, and of brick, and the streets wide, long, and spacious. Those of Atocha and Alcala are as fine as any I ever saw; yet it is situated but very indifferently: for, though they have what they call a river, to which they give the very fair name of La Mansuera, and over which they have built a curious, long, and large stone bridge; yet is the course of it, in summer time especially, mostly dry. This gave occasion to that piece of raillery of a foreign ambassador, That the king would have done wisely to have bought a river, before he built the bridge. Nevertheless, that little stream of a river which they boast of, they improve as much as possible; since down the sides, as far as you can see, there are coops, or little places hooped in, for people to wash their linen, (for they very rarely wash

in their own houses,) nor is it really any unpleasing sight to view the regular rows of them at that cleanly operation.

The king has here two palaces; one within the town, the other near adjoining. That in the town is built of stone; the other, which is called Bueno Retiro, is all of brick. From the town to this last, in summer time, there is a large covering of canvass, propt up with tall poles, under which people walk, to avoid the scorching heats of the sun.

As I was passing by the chapel of the Carmelites, I saw several blind men, some led, some groping the way with their sticks, going into the chapel. I had the curiosity to know the reason; I no sooner entered the door, but was surprised to see such a number of those unfortunate people, all kneeling before the altar, some kissing the ground, others holding up their heads, crying out *Misericordia.* I was informed it was St. Lucy's day, the patroness of the blind; therefore, all who were able came upon that day to pay their devotion: so I left them, and directed my course towards the king's palace.

When I came to the outward court, I met with a Spanish gentleman of my acquaintance, and we went into the piazzas; whilst we were talking there, I saw several gentlemen passing by, having badges on their breasts, some white, some red, and others green: my friend informed me, that there were five orders of knighthood in Spain. That of the Golden Fleece was only given to great princes, but the other four to private gentlemen, viz. that of St. Jago, Alcantara, St. Salvador de Montreal, and Monteza.

He likewise told me that there were above ninety places of grandees, but never filled up, who have the privilege of being covered in the presence of the king, and are distinguished into three ranks. The first is, of those who cover themselves before they speak to

the king; the second, are those who put on their hats after they have begun to speak; the third, are those who only put on their hats, having spoke to him. The ladies of the grandees have also great respect showed them. The queen rises up when they enter the chamber, and offers them cushions.

No married man, except the king, lies in the palace; for all the women who live there are widows, or maids of honour to the queen. I saw the prince of Asturia's dinner carried through the court up to him, being guarded by four gentlemen of the guards, one before, another behind, and one on each side, with their carbines shouldered; the queen's came next, and the king's the last, guarded as before; for they always dine separately. I observed, that the gentlemen of the guards, though not on duty, yet they are obliged to wear their carbine belts.

St. Isidore, who, from a poor labouring man, by his sanctity of life arrived to the title of saint, is the patron of Madrid, and has a church dedicated to him, which is richly adorned within. The sovereign court of the Inquisition is held at Madrid, the president whereof is called the inquisitor-general. They judge without allowing any appeal for four sorts of crimes, viz. heresy, polygamy, sodomy, and witchcraft; and when any are convicted, it is called the act of faith.

Most people believe, that the king's greatest revenue consists in the gold and silver brought from the West Indies, which is a mistake; for most part of that wealth belongs to merchants and others, that pay the workmen at the golden mines of Potosi, and the silver mines at Mexico; yet the king, as I have been informed, receives about a million and a half of gold.

The Spaniards have a saying, that the finest garden of fruit in Spain is in the middle of Madrid, which is the Plaza, or market-place; and truly the stalls there are set forth with such variety of delicious fruit, that I must

confess I never saw any place comparable to it; and, which adds to my admiration, there are no gardens or orchards of fruit within some leagues.

They seldom eat hares in Spain but whilst the grapes are growing; and then they are so exceeding fat, they are knocked down with sticks. Their rabbits are not so good as ours in England; they have great plenty of partridges, which are larger and finer feathered than ours. They have but little beef in Spain, because there is no grass; but they have plenty of mutton, and exceeding good, because their sheep feed only upon wild pot-herbs; their pork is delicious, their hogs feeding only upon chesnuts and acorns.

Madrid and Valladolid, though great, yet are only accounted villages: in the latter, Philip the Second, by the persuasion of Parsons, an English Jesuit, erected an English seminary; and Philip the Fourth built a most noble palace, with extraordinary fine gardens. They say, that Christopher Columbus, who first discovered the West Indies, died there, though I have heard he lies buried, and has a monument at Sevil.

The palace in the town stands upon eleven arches, under every one of which there are shops, which degrade it to a mere exchange. Nevertheless, the stairs by which you ascend up to the guard-room, (which is very spacious too,) are stately, large, and curious. So soon as you have passed the guard-room, you enter into a long and noble gallery, the right hand whereof leads to the king's apartment, the left to the queen's. Entering into the king's apartment, you soon arrive at a large room, where he keeps his levee; on one side whereof, (for it takes up the whole side,) is painted the fatal battle of Almanza. I confess the view somewhat affected me, though so long after, and brought to mind many old passages. However, the reflection concluded thus in favour of the Spaniard, that we ought to excuse their vanity in so exposing, under a French

general, a victory, which was the only material one the Spaniards could ever boast of over an English army.

In this state room, when the king first appears, every person present receives him with a profound homage; after which, turning from the company to a large velvet chair, by which stands the father confessor, he kneels down, and remains some time at his devotion; which being over, he rising, crosses himself, and his father confessor having with the motion of his hand intimated his benediction, he then gives audience to all that attend for that purpose. He receives every body with a seeming complaisance, and with an air more resembling the French than the Spanish ceremony. Petitions to the king, as with us, are delivered into the hands of the secretary of state: yet in one particular they are, in my opinion, worthy the imitation of other courts; the petitioner is directly told what day he must come for an answer to the office; at which time he is sure, without any further fruitless attendance, not to fail of it. The audience being over, the king returns through the gallery to his own apartment.

I cannot here omit an accidental conversation, that passed between general Mahoni and myself in this place. After some talk of the bravery of the English nation, he made mention of general Stanhope, with a very peculiar emphasis. But, says he, I never was so put to the nonplus in all my days as that general once put me in. I was on the road from Paris to Madrid, and having notice, that that general was going just the reverse, and that in all likelihood we should meet the next day, before my setting out in the morning, I took care to order my gayest regimental apparel, resolving to make the best appearance I could to receive so great a man. I had not travelled above four hours before I saw two gentlemen, who appearing to be English, it induced me to imagine they were forerunners,

and some of his retinue. But how abashed and confounded was I, when putting the question to one of them, he made answer, Sir, I am the person! Never did moderation put vanity more out of countenance: though, to say truth, I could not but think his dress as much too plain for general Stanhope, as I at that juncture thought my own too gay for Mahoni. But, added he, that great man had too many inward great endowments to stand in need of any outside decoration.

Of all diversions, the king takes most delight in that of shooting, which he performs with great exactness and dexterity. I have seen him divert himself at swallow-shooting, (by all, I think, allowed to be the most difficult,) and exceeding all I ever saw. The last time I had the honour to see him, was on his return from that exercise. He had been abroad with the duke of Medina Sidonia, and alighted out of his coach at a back door of the palace, with three or four birds in his hand, which according to his usual custom, he carried up to the queen with his own hands.

There are two playhouses in Madrid, at both which they act every day; but their actors and their music are almost too indifferent to be mentioned. The theatre at the Bueno Retiro is much the best; but as much inferior to ours at London, as those at Madrid are to that. I was at one play, when both king and queen were present. There was a splendid audience, and a great concourse of ladies; but the latter, as is the custom there, having lattices before them, the appearance lost most of its lustre. One very remarkable thing happened while I was there; the Ave-bell rung in the middle of an act, when down on their knees fell everybody, even the players on the stage, in the middle of their harangue. They remained for some time at their devotion; then up they rose, and returned to the business they were before engaged in, beginning where they left off.

The ladies of quality make their visits in grand state and decorum. The lady-visitant is carried in a chair by four men; the two first, in all weathers, always bare. Two others walk as a guard, one on each side; another carrying a large lantern for fear of being benighted; then follows a coach drawn by six mules, with her women, and after that another with her gentlemen; several servants walking after, more or less, according to the quality of the person. They never suffer their servants to overload a coach, as is frequently seen with us; neither do coachmen or chairmen go or drive, as if they carried midwives in lieu of ladies. On the contrary, they affect a motion so slow and so stately, that you would rather imagine the ladies were every one of them near their time, and very apprehensive of a miscarriage.

I remember not to have seen here any horses in any coach, but in the king's, or an ambassador's; which can only proceed from custom, for certainly finer horses are not to be found in the world.

At the time of my being here, cardinal Giudici was at Madrid; he was a tall, proper, comely man, and one that made the best appearance. Alberoni was there at the same time, who, upon the death of the duke of Vendosme, had the good fortune to find the princess Ursini his patroness; an instance of whose ingratitude will plead pardon for this little digression. That princess first brought Alberoni into favour at court. They were both of Italy, and that might be one reason of that lady's espousing his interest; though some there are that assign it to the recommendation of the duke of Vendosme, with whom Alberoni had the honour to be very intimate, as the other was always distinguished by that princess. Be which it will, certain it is, she was Alberoni's first and sole patroness; which gave many people afterwards a very smart occasion of reflecting upon him, both as to his integrity and gratitude. For when Alberoni, upon the death of king

Philip's first queen, had recommended this present lady, who was his countrywoman, (she of Parma, and he of Placentia, both in the same dukedom,) and had forwarded her match with the king with all possible assiduity; and when that princess, pursuant to the orders she had received from the king, passed over into Italy to accompany the queen elect into her own dominions; Alberoni, forgetful of the hand that first advanced him, sent a letter to the present queen, just before her landing, that if she resolved to be queen of Spain, she must banish the princess Ursini, her companion, and never let her come to court. Accordingly, that lady, to evince the extent of her power, and the strength of her resolution, despatched that princess away, on her very landing, and before she had seen the king, under a detachment of her own guards, into France; and all this without either allowing her an opportunity of justifying herself, or assigning the least reason for so uncommon an action. But the same Alberoni (though afterwards created cardinal, and for some time king Philip's prime minion) soon saw that ingratitude of his rewarded in his own disgrace at the very same court.

I remember when at La Mancha, Don Felix Pachero, in a conversation there, maintained, that three women at that time ruled the world, viz. queen Anne, madam Maintenon, and this princess Ursini.

Father Fahy's civilities, when last at Madrid, exacting of me some suitable acknowledgment, I went to pay him a visit; as to render him due thanks for the past, so to give him a further account of his countryman Brennan: but I soon found he did not much incline to hear anything more of Murtough, not expecting to hear any good of him; for which reason, as soon as I well could, I changed the conversation to another topic; in which some word dropping of the count de Montery, I told him, that I heard he had taken orders, and officiated at mass: he made answer, it was all

very true. And upon my intimating, that I had the honour to serve under him in Flanders, on my first entering into service, and when he commanded the Spanish forces at the famous battle of Seneff; and adding, that I could not but be surprised, that he, who was then one of the brigthest cavalieroes of the age, should now be in orders, and that I should look upon it as a mighty favour barely to have, if it might be, a view of him; he very obligingly told me, that he was very well acquainted with him, and that if I would come the next day, he would not fail to accompany me to the count's house.

Punctually at the time appointed I waited on Father Fahy, who, as he promised, carried me to the count's house: he was stepping into his coach just as we got there; but seeing Father Fahy, he advanced towards us. The father delivered my desire in as handsome a manner as could be, and concluding with the reason of it, from my having been in that service under him; he seemed very well pleased, but added, that there were not many beside myself living, who had been in that service with him. After some other conversation, he called his gentleman to him, and gave him particular orders to give us a frescari, or, in English, an entertainment; so, taking leave, he went into his coach, and we to our frescari.

Coming from which, Father Fahy made me observe, in the open street, a stone, on which was a visible great stain of somewhat reddish, and like blood. This, said he, was occasioned by the death of a countryman of mine, who had the misfortune to overset a child, coming out of that house; (pointing to one opposite to us;) the child, frighted, though not hurt, as is natural, made a terrible outcry; upon which its father coming out in a violent rage, (notwithstanding my countryman begged pardon, and pleaded sorrow, as being only an accident,) stabbed him to the heart, and down he fell upon that stone, which to this day retains the mark of

innocent blood, so rashly shed. He went on, and told me the Spaniard immediately took sanctuary in the church, whence some time after he made his escape. But escapes of that nature are so common in Spain, that they are not worth wondering at. For even though it were for wilful and premeditated murder, if the murderer have taken sanctuary, it was never known that he was delivered up to justice, though demanded; but in some disguise he makes his escape, or some way is secured against all the clamours of power or equity.

I have observed, that some of the greatest quality stop their coaches over a stinking nasty puddle, which they often find in the streets, and, holding their heads over the door, snuff up the nasty scent which ascends, believing that it is extremely healthful; when I was forced to hold my nose, passing by. It is not convenient to walk out early in the morning; they, having no necessary houses, throw out their nastiness in the middle of the street.

After I had taken leave of Father Fahy, and returned my thanks for all civilities, I went to pay a visit to Mr. Salter, who was secretary to general Stanhope, when the English forces were made prisoners of war at Brihuega. Going up stairs, I found the door of his lodgings a-jar; and knocking, a person came to the door, who appeared under some surprise at sight of me. I did not know him; but inquiring if Mr. Salter was within, he answered, as I fancied, with some hesitation, that he was, but was busy in an inner room. However, though unasked, I went in, resolving, since I had found him at home, to wait his leisure. In a little time Mr. Salter entered the room; and after customary ceremonies, asking my patience a little longer, he desired I would sit down and bear ensign Fanshaw company, (for so he called him,) adding, at going out, he had a little business that required despatch; which being over, he would return and join company.

The ensign, as he called him, appeared to me under

a dishabille; and the first question he asked me, was, if I would drink a glass of English beer? Misled by his appearance, though I assented, it was with a design to treat, which he would by no means permit, but, calling to a servant, ordered some in. We sat drinking that liquor, which to me was a greater rarity than all the wine in Spain; when in dropt an old acquaintance of mine, Mr. Le Noy, secretary to colonel Nevil. He sat down with us, and before the glass could go twice round, told ensign Fanshaw, that his colonel gave his humble service to him, and ordered him to let him know, that he had but threescore pistoles by him, which he had sent, and which were at his service, as what he pleased more should be, as soon as it came to his hands.

At this I began to look upon my ensign as another guess person than I had taken him for; and Le Noy imagining, by our sitting cheek by jowl together, that I must be in the secret, soon after gave him the title of captain. This soon convinced me, that there was more in the matter than I was yet master of; for laying things together, I could not but argue within myself, that as it seemed at first a most incredible thing that a person of his appearance should have so large a credit, with such a compliment at the end of it, without some disguise; and as from an ensign he was risen to be a captain, in the taking of one bottle of English beer; a little patience would let me into a farce, in which at present I had not the honour to bear any part but that of a mute

At last Le Noy took his leave, and as soon as he had left us, and the other bottle was brought in, ensign Fanshaw began to open his heart, and tell me who he was. I am necessitated, said he, to be under this disguise, to conceal myself, especially in this place. For you must know, continued he, that when our forces were lords of this town, as we were for a little while, I fell under an intrigue with another man's wife: her husband was a person of considerable account; nevertheless the wife showed me all the favours that a

soldier, under a long and hard campaign, could be imagined to ask. In short, her relations got acquainted with our amour, and knowing that I was among the prisoners taken at Brihuega, are now upon the scout and inquiry, to make a discovery that may be of fatal consequence. This is the reason of my disguise; this the unfortunate occasion of my taking upon me a name that does not belong to me.

He spoke all this with such an openness of heart, that, in return of so much confidence, I confessed to him, that I had heard of the affair, for that it had made no little noise all over the country; that it highly behoved him to take great care of himself, since, as the relations on both sides were considerable, he must consequently be in great danger; that in cases of that nature, no people in the world carry things to greater extremities than the Spaniards. He returned me thanks for my good advice, which I understood in a few days after, he, with the assistance of his friends, had taken care to put in practice; for he was conveyed away secretly, and afterwards had the honour to be made a peer of Ireland.

My passport being at last signed by the Count de las Torres, I prepared for a journey I had long and ardently wished for, and set out from Madrid in the beginning of September, 1712, in order to return to my native country.

Accordingly I set forward upon my journey; but having heard, both before and since my being in Spain, very famous things spoken of the Escurial, though it was a league out of my road, I resolved to make it a visit. And I must confess, when I came there, I was so far from condemning my curiosity, that I chose to congratulate my good fortune, that had, at half a day's expense, feasted my eyes with extraordinaries which would have justified a twelvemonth's journey on purpose.

The structure is entirely magnificent, beyond any-

thing I ever saw, or anything my imagination could frame. It is composed of eleven several quadrangles, with noble cloisters round every one of them. The front to the west is adorned with three stately gates; every one of a different model, yet every one the model of nicest architecture. The middlemost of the three leads into a fine chapel of the Hieronomites, as they call them, in which are entertained one hundred and fifty monks. At every of the four corners of this august fabric, there is a turret of excellent workmanship, which yields to the whole an extraordinary air of grandeur. The king's palace is on the north, nearest that mountain whence the stone it is built of was hewn; and all the south part is set off with many galleries, both beautiful and sumptuous.

This prodigious pile, which, as I have said, exceeds all that I ever saw, and which would ask of itself a volume to particularise, was built by Philip II. He laid the first stone, yet lived to see it finished; and lies buried in the pantheon, a part of it set apart for the burial-place of succeeding princes, as well as himself. It was dedicated to Saint Lawrence in the very foundation; and therefore built in the shape of a gridiron, the instrument of that matyr's execution, and in memory of a great victory obtained on that saint's day. The stone of which it is built, contrary to the common course, grows whiter by age; and the quarry, whence it was dug, lies near enough, if it had sense or ambition, to grow enamoured of its own wonderful production. Some there are, who stick not to assign this convenience as the main cause of its situation; and for my part, I must agree, that I have seen many other parts of Spain where that glorious building would have shone with yet far greater splendour.

There was no town of any consequence presented itself in my way to Burgos. Here I took up my quarters that night; where I met with an Irish priest, whose name was White. As is natural on such rencounters,

having answered his inquiry, whither I was going, he very kindly told me, he should be very glad of my company as far as Victoria, which lay in my road; and I with equal frankness embraced the offer.

Next morning, when we had mounted our mules, and were got a little distance from Burgos, he began to relate to me a great many impious pranks of an English officer, who had been a prisoner there a little before I came; concluding all, with some vehemence, that he had given greater occasion of scandal and infamy to his native country, than would easily be wiped off, or in a little time. The truth of it is, many particulars, which he related to me, were too monstrously vile to admit of any repetition here; and highly meriting that unfortunate end, which that officer met with some time after. Nevertheless, the just reflections, made by that Father, plainly manifested to me the folly of those gentlemen, who, by such inadvertencies, to say no worse, cause the honour of the land of their nativity to be called in question. For though, no doubt, it is a very false conclusion, from a singular, to conceive a general character; yet, in a strange country, nothing is more common. A man, therefore, of common sense, would carefully avoid all occasions of censure, if not in respect to himself, yet out of a humane regard to such of his countrymen as may have the fortune to come after him; and, it is more than probable, may desire to hear a better and juster character of their country and countrymen, than he perhaps might incline to leave behind him.

As we travelled along Father White told me, that near the place of our quartering that night, there was a convent of the Carthusian order, which would be well worth my seeing. I was doubly glad to hear it, as it was an order most a stranger to me; and as I had often heard from many others, most unaccountable relations of the severity of their way of life, and the very odd original of their institution.

The next morning, therefore, being Sunday, we took a walk to the convent. It was situated at the foot of a great hill, having a pretty little river running before it. The hill was naturally covered with evergreens of various sorts; but the very summit of the rock was so impending, that one would at first sight be led to apprehend the destruction of the convent, from the fall of it. Notwithstanding all which, they have very curious and well-ordered gardens; which led me to observe, that, whatever men may pretend, pleasure was not incompatible with the most austere life. And indeed, if I may guess of others by this, no order in that church can boast of finer convents. Their chapel was completely neat, the altar of it set out with the utmost magnificence, both as to fine paintings, and other rich adornments. The buildings were answerable to the rest; and, in short, nothing seemed omitted, that might render it beautiful or pleasant.

When we had taken a full survey of all, we, not without some regret, returned to our very indifferent inn; where, the better to pass away the time, Father White gave me an ample detail of the original of that order. I had beforehand heard somewhat of it; nevertheless, I did not care to interrupt him; because I had a mind to hear how his account would agree with what I had already heard.

Bruno, said the father, the author or founder of this order, was not originally of this, but of another. He had a holy brother of the same order, that was his cell-mate, or chamber-fellow, who was reputed by all that ever saw or knew him, for a person of exalted piety, and of a most exact holy life. This man, Bruno had intimately known for many years; and agreed, in his character, that general consent did him no more than justice, having never observed anything in any of his actions, that, in his opinion, could be offensive to God or man. He was perpetually at his devotions; and distinguishably remarkable for never permitting anything

but pious ejaculations to proceed out of his mouth. In short, he was reputed a saint upon earth.

This man at last dies, and, according to custom, is removed into the chapel of the convent, and there placed with a cross fixed in his hands: soon after which, saying the proper masses for his soul, in the middle of their devotion, the dead man lifts up his head, and with an audible voice cried out, *Vocatus sum.* The pious brethren, as any one will easily imagine, were most prodigiously surprised at such an accident, and therefore they earnestly redoubled their prayers; when, lifting up his head a second time, the dead man cried aloud, *Judicatus sum.* Knowing his former piety, the pious fraternity could not then entertain the least doubt of his felicity; when, to their great consternation and confusion, he lifted up his head a third time, crying out in a terrible tone, *Damnatus sum;* upon which they incontinently removed the corpse out of the chapel, and threw it upon the dunghill.

Good Bruno, pondering upon these passages, could not fail of drawing this conclusion:—that if a person, to all appearance so holy and devout, should miss of salvation, it behoved a wise man to contrive some way more certain to make his calling and election sure. To that purpose he instituted this strict and severe order, with an injunction to them, sacred as any part, that every professor should always wear hair-cloth next his skin; never eat any flesh, nor speak to one another, only, as passing by, to say *Memento mori.*

This account I found to agree pretty well with what I had before heard; but, at the same time, I found the redouble of it made but just the same impression it had at first made upon my heart. However, having made it my observation, that a spirit the least contradictory best carries a man through Spain, I kept Father White company, and in humour, till we arrived at Victoria;

where he added one thing, by way of appendix, in relation to the Carthusians, that every person of the society is obliged every day to go into their place of burial, and take up as much earth as he can hold at a grasp with one hand, in order to prepare his grave.

Next day we set out for Victoria. It is a sweet, delicious, and pleasant town. It received that name in memory of a considerable victory there obtained over the Moors. Leaving this place, I parted with Father White; he going where his affairs led him, and I to make the best of my way to Bilboa.

Entering into Biscay, soon after I left Victoria, I was at a loss almost to imagine what country I was got into. By my long stay in Spain, I thought myself a tolerable master of the tongue; yet here I found myself at the utmost loss to understand landlord, landlady, or any of the family. I was told by my muleteer, that they pretend their language, as they call it, has continued uncorrupted from the very confusion of Babel; though, if I might freely give my opinion in the matter, I should rather take it to be the very corruption of all that confusion. Another rhodomontado they have, (for in this they are perfect Spaniards,) that neither Romans, Carthaginians, Vandals, Goths, or Moors, ever totally subdued them. And yet any man that has ever seen their country, might cut this knot without a hatchet, by saying truly, that neither Roman, Carthaginian, nor any victorious people, thought it worth while to make a conquest of a country so mountainous and so barren.

However, Bilboa must be allowed, though not very large, to be a pretty, clean, and neat town. Here, as in Amsterdam, they allow neither cart nor coach to enter; but everything of merchandise is drawn and carried upon sledges; and yet it is a place of no small account as to trade, and especially for iron and wool. Here I hoped to have met with an opportunity of em-

barking for England; but to my sorrow I found myself disappointed, and under that disappointment obliged to make the best of my way to Bayonne.

Setting out for which place, the first town of note that I came to was St. Sebastian. A very clean town, and neatly paved; which is no little rarity in Spain. It has a very good wall about it, and a pretty citadel. At this place I met with two English officers, who were under the same state with myself; one of them being a prisoner of war with me at Denia. They were going to Bayonne to embark for England as well as myself; so we agreed to set out together for Port Passage. The road from St. Sebastian is all over a well-paved stone causeway; almost at the end whereof, there accosted us a great number of young lasses. They were all prettily dressed, their long hair flowing in a decent manner over their shoulders, and here and there decorated with ribbons of various colours, which wantonly played on their backs with the wind. The sight surprised my fellow-travellers no less than me; and the more, as they advanced directly up to us, and seized our hands. But a little time undeceived us, and we found what they came for; and that their contest, though not so robust as our oars on the Thames, was much of the same nature; each contending who should have us for their fare. For it is here a custom of time out of mind, that none but young women should have the management and profit of that ferry. And though the ferry is over an arm of the sea, very broad, and sometimes very rough, those fair ferriers manage themselves with that dexterity, that the passage is very little dangerous, and in calm weather very pleasant. In short, we made choice of those that best pleased us; who, in a grateful return, led us down to their boat under a sort of music, which they, walking along, made with their oars, and which we all thought far from being disagreeable. Thus were we transported over to Port

Passage; not undeservedly accounted the best harbour in all the Bay of Biscay.

We stayed not long here after landing, resolving, if possible, to reach Fonterabia before night; but all the expedition we could use, little availed; for before we could reach thither, the gates were shut, and good nature and humanity were so locked up with them, that all the rhetoric we were masters of could not prevail upon the governor to order their being opened; for which reason, we were obliged to take up our quarters at the ferry house.

When we got up the next morning, we found the waters so broad, as well as rough, that we began to inquire after another passage; and were answered, that at the Isle of Conference, but a short league upwards, the passage was much shorter, and exposed to less danger. Such good reasons soon determined us: so, setting out, we got there in a very little time, and very soon after were landed in France. Here we found a house of very good entertainment; a thing we had long wanted, and much lamented the want of.

We were hardly well seated in the house, before we were made sensible, that it was the custom, which had made it the business of our host, to entertain all his guests at first coming in, with a prolix account of that remarkable interview between the two kings of France and Spain. I speak safely now, as being got on French ground: for the Spaniard in his own country would have made me to know, that putting Spain after France had there been looked upon as a mere solecism in speech. However, having refreshed ourselves, to show our deference to our host's relation, we agreed to pay our respects to that famous little isle he mentioned: which, indeed, was the whole burden of the design of our crafty landlord's relation.

When we came there, we found it a little oval island, overrun with weeds, and surrounded with reeds and

rushes. Here, said our landlord, for he went with us, upon this little spot, were at that juncture seen the two greatest monarchs in the universe. A noble pavilion was erected in the very middle of it, and in the middle of that was placed a very large oval table; at which was the conference, from which the place received its title. There were two bridges raised; one on the Spanish side, the passage to which was a little upon a descent by reason of the hills adjacent; and the other upon the French side, which, as you see, was all upon a level. The music playing, and trumpets sounding, the two kings, upon a signal agreed upon, set forward at the same time; the Spanish monarch handing the infanta, his daughter, to the place of interview. As soon as they were entered the pavilion, on each side, all the artillery fired, and both armies after that made their several vollies. Then the king of Spain advancing on his side the table with the infanta, the king of France advanced at the same moment on the other; till meeting, he received the infanta at the hands of her father, as his queen; upon which, both the artillery and small arms fired as before. After this was a most splendid and sumptuous entertainment; which being over, both kings retired into their several dominions; the king of France conducting his new queen to St. Jean de Luz, where the marriage was consummated; and the king of Spain returning to Port Passage.

After a relation so very inconsistent with the present state of the place, we took horse, (for mule-mounting was now out of fashion,) and rode to St. Jean de Luz, where we found as great a difference in our eating and drinking, as we had before done in our riding. Here they might be properly called houses of entertainment; though, generally speaking, till we came to this place, we met with very mean fare, and were poorly accommodated in the houses where we lodged.

A person, that travels this way, would be esteemed a man of a narrow curiosity, who should not desire to

see the chamber where Louis le Grand took his first night's lodging with his queen. Accordingly, when it was put into my head, out of an ambition to evince myself a person of taste, I asked the question, and the favour was granted me, with a great deal of French civility. Not that I found anything here, more than in the Isle of Conference, but what tradition only had rendered remarkable.

St. Jean de Luz is esteemed one of the greatest village towns in all France. It was in the great church of this place, that Louis XIV., according to marriage articles, took before the high altar the oath of renunciation to the crown of Spain, by which all the issue of that marriage were debarred inheritance, if oaths had been obligatory with princes. The natives here are reckoned expert seamen, especially in whale fishing. Here is a fine bridge of wood; in the middle of which is a descent, by steps into a pretty little island; where is a chapel, and a palace belonging to the bishop of Bayonne. Here the queen dowager of Spain often walks to divert herself; and on this bridge, and in the walks on the island, I had the honour to see that princess more than once.

This villa not being above four leagues from Bayonne, we got there by dinner-time, where, at an ordinary of twenty sous, we eat and drank in plenty, and with a gusto much better than in any part of Spain; where, for eating much worse, we paid very much more.

Bayonne is a town strong by nature; yet the fortifications have been very much neglected, since the building of the citadel, on the other side the river; which not only commands the town but the harbour too. It is a noble fabric, fair and strong, and raised on the side of a hill, wanting nothing that art could furnish to render it impregnable. The marshal Boufflers had the care of it in its erection; and there is a fine walk near it, from which he used to survey the work-

men, which still carries his name. There are two noble bridges here, though both of wood, one over that river which runs on one side the town; the other over that which divides it in the middle. The tide runs through both with vast rapidity; notwithstanding which, ships of burden come up, and, paying for it, are often fastened to the bridge, while loading or unloading. While I was here, there came in four or five English ships laden with corn; the first, as they told me, that had come in to unload there since the beginning of the war.

On that side of the river where the new citadel is built, at a very little distance, lies Pont d'Esprit, a place mostly inhabited by Jews, who drive a great trade there, and are esteemed very rich, though, as in all other countries, mostly very roguish. Here the queen dowager of Spain has kept her court ever since the jealousy of the present king reclused her from Madrid. As aunt to his competitor Charles, (now emperor,) he apprehended her intriguing; for which reason, giving her an option of retreat, that princess made choice of this city, much to the advantage of the place, and in all appearance much to her own satisfaction. She is a lady not of the lesser size; and lives here in suitable splendour, and not without the respect due to a person of her high quality; every time she goes to take the air, the cannon of the citadel saluting her as she passes over the bridge; and, to say truth, the country round is extremely pleasant, and abounds in plenty of all provisions, especially in wild fowl. Bayonne hams are, to a proverb, celebrated all over France.

We waited here near five months before the expected transports arrived from England, without any other amusements than such as are common to people under suspense. Short tours will not admit of great varieties; and much acquaintance could not be any way suitable to people that had long been in a strange

country, and earnestly desired to return to our own. Yet one accident befel me here, that was nearer costing me my life, than all I had before encountered, either in battle or siege.

Going to my lodgings one evening, I unfortunately met with an officer, who would needs have me along with him, aboard one of the English ships, to drink a bottle of English beer. He had been often invited, he said; And I am afraid our countryman, continued he, will hold himself slighted if I delay it longer. English beer was a great rarity, and the vessel lay not at any great distance from my lodgings; so without any further persuasion I consented. When we came upon the bridge, to which the ship we were to go aboard was fastened, we found, as was customary, as well as necessary, a plank laid over from the ship, and a rope to hold by, for safe passage. The night was very dark, and I had cautiously enough taken care to provide a man with a lantern to prevent casualties. The man with the light went first, and out of his abundant complaisance, my friend, the officer, would have me follow the light; but I was no sooner stept upon the plank after my guide, but rope and plank gave way, and guide and I tumbled both together into the water.

The tide was then running in pretty strong; however, my feet in the fall touching ground, gave me an opportunity to recover myself a little; at which time I catched fast hold of a buoy, which was placed over an anchor on one of the ships there riding. I held fast, till the tide, rising stronger and stronger, threw me off my feet, which gave an opportunity to the poor fellow, our lantern-bearer, to lay hold of one of my legs, by which he held as fast as I by the buoy. We had lain thus lovingly at hull together, struggling with the increasing tide, which, well for us, did not break my hold, (for if it had, the ships, which lay breast-a-breast, had certainly sucked us under,) when several

on the bridge, who saw us fall, brought others with ropes and lights to our assistance; and especially my brother-officer, who had been accessary as well as spectator of our calamity; though at last a very small portion of our deliverance fell to his share.

As soon as I could feel a rope, I quitted my hold of the buoy; but my poor drag at my heels would not on any account quit his hold of my leg. And as it was next to an impossibility, in that posture, to draw us up the bridge to save both, if either of us, we must still have perished, had not the alarm brought off a boat or two to our succour, who took us in.

I was carried as fast as possible to a neighbouring house hard by, where they took immediate care to make a good fire; and where I had not been long before our intended host, the master of the ship, came in very much concerned, and blaming us for not hailing the vessel before we made an attempt to enter. For, says he, the very night before, my vessel was robbed; and that plank and rope were a trap designed for the thieves, if they came again; not imagining that men in an honest way would have come on board without asking questions. Like the wise men of this world, I hereupon began to form resolutions against a thing, which was never again likely to happen; and to draw inferences of instruction from an accident, that had not so much as a moral for its foundation.

One day after this, partly out of business, and partly out of curiosity, I went to see the mint here; and having taken notice to one of the officers, that there was a difference in the impress of their crown pieces, one having at the bottom the impress of a cow, and the other none: Sir, replied that officer, you are much in the right in your observation. Those that have the cow, were not coined here, but at Paw, the chief city of Navarre, where they enjoy the privilege of a mint as well as we. And tradition tells, says he, that the reason of that addition to the impress was this: a cer-

tain king of Navarre, (when it was a kingdom distinct from that of France,) looking out of a window of the palace, spied a cow, with her calf standing aside her, attacked by a lion, which had got loose out of his menagerie. The lion strove to get the young calf into his paw; the cow bravely defended her charge; and so well, that the lion at last, tired and weary, withdrew, and left her mistress of the field of battle, and her young one. Ever since which, concluded the officer, by order of that king, the cow is placed at the bottom of the impress of all the money there coined.

Whether or no my relator guessed at the moral, or whether it was fact, I dare not determine: but to me it seemed apparent, that it was no otherways intended than as an emblematical fable, to cover and preserve the memory of the deliverance of Henry IV., then the young king of Navarre, at that eternally ignominious slaughter, the massacre of Paris. Many historians, their own as well as others, agree, that the house of Guise had levelled the malice of their design at that great prince. They knew him to be the lawful heir; but as they knew him bred what they called a Huguenot, barbarity and injustice was easily concealed under the cloak of religion, and the good of mother-church, under the veil of ambition, was held sufficient to postpone the laws of God and man. Some of those historians have delivered it as matter of fact that the conspirators, in searching after that young king, pressed into the very apartments of the queen his mother; who having, at the toll of the bell, and cries of the murdered, taken the alarm, on hearing them coming, placed herself in her chair, and covered the young king her son with her farthingale, till they were gone. By which means she found an opportunity to convey him to a place of more safety; and so preserved him from those bloody murderers, and in them from the paw of the lion. This was only a private reflection of my own at that time; but I think carries so great a face of

probability, that I can see no present reason to reject it. And to have sought after better information from the officer of the mint, had been to sacrifice my discretion to my curiosity.

While I stayed at Bayonne, the princess Ursini came thither, attended by some of the king of Spain's guards. She had been to drink the waters of some famous spa in the neighbourhood, the name of which has now slipt my memory. She was most splendidly entertained by the queen dowager of Spain; and the mareschal de Montrevel no less signalized himself in his reception of that great lady, who was at that instant the greatest favourite in the Spanish court; though, as I have before related, she was some time after basely undermined by a creature of her own advancing.

Bayonne is esteemed the third emporium of trade in all France. It was once, and remained long so, in the possession of the English; of which, had history been silent, the cathedral church had afforded evident demonstration; being in every respect of the English model, and quite different to any of their own way of building in France.

Pampelona is the capital city of the Spanish Navarre supposed to have been built by Pompey. It is situated in a pleasant valley, surrounded by lofty hills. This town, whether famous or infamous, was the cause of the first institution of the order of the Jesuits: for at the siege of this place, Ignatius Loyola, being only a private soldier, received a shot in his thigh, which made him incapable of following that profession any longer; upon which he set his brains to work, being a subtle man, and invented the order of the Jesuits, which has been so troublesome to the world ever since.

At St. Stephen, near Lerida, an action happened between the English and Spaniards, in which major-general Cunningham, bravely fighting at the head of his men, lost his life, being extremely much lamented.

He was a gentleman of a great estate, yet left it to serve his country; *dulce est pro patria mori.*

About two leagues from Victoria, there is a very pleasant hermitage placed upon a small rising ground; a murmuring rivulet running at the bottom, and a pretty neat chapel standing near it, in which I saw St. Christopher in a gigantic shape, having a Christo on his shoulders. The hermit was there at his devotion; I asked him (though I knew it before) the reason why he was represented in so large a shape? The hermit answered with great civility, and told me, he had his name from Christo Ferendo; for when our Saviour was young, he had an inclination to pass a river, so St. Christopher took him on his shoulders in order to carry him over, and as the water grew deeper and deeper, so he grew higher and higher.

At last we received news, that the Gloucester man-of-war, with two transports, was arrived at Port Passage, in order for the transporting of all the remaining prisoners of war into England. Accordingly, they marched next day, and there embarked. But I having before agreed with a master of a vessel, which was loaded with wine for Amsterdam, to set me ashore at Dover, stayed behind, waiting for that ship, as did that for a fair wind.

In three or four days' time, a fine and fair gale presented; of which the master taking due advantage, we sailed over the bar into the Bay of Biscay. This is with sailors, to a proverb, reckoned the roughest of seas; and yet on our entrance into it, nothing appeared like it. It was smooth as glass; a lady's face might pass for young, and in its bloom, that discovered no more wrinkles: yet scarce had we sailed three leagues, before a prodigious fish presented itself to our view. As near as we could guess, it might be twenty yards in length; and it lay sporting itself on the surface of the sea, a great part appearing out of the water. The sailors, one

and all, as soon as they saw it, declared it the certain forerunner of a storm. However, our ship kept on its course, before a fine gale, till we had near passed over half the bay; when, all on a sudden, there was such a hideous alteration, as makes nature recoil on the very reflection. Those seas that seemed before to smile upon us with the aspect of a friend, now in a moment changed their flattering countenance into that of an open enemy; and frowns, the certain indexes of wrath, presented us with apparent danger, of which little on this side death could be the sequel. The angry waves cast themselves up into mountains, and scourged the ship on every side from poop to prow: such shocks from the contending wind and surges! such falls from precipices of water, to dismal caverns of the same uncertain element! Although the latter seemed to receive us, in order to screen us from the riot of the former, imagination could offer no other advantage than that of a winding-sheet, presented and prepared for our approaching fate. But why mention I imagination? In me it was wholly dormant. And yet those sons of stormy weather, the sailors, had theirs about them in full stretch; for seeing the wind and sea so very boisterous, they lashed the rudder of the ship, resolved to let her drive, and steer herself, since it was past their skill to steer her. This was our way of sojourning most part of that tedious night; driven where the winds and waves thought fit to drive us, with all our sails quite lowered and flat upon the deck. If Ovid, in the little Archipelagian sea, could whine out his *jam jam jacturus*, &c.; in this more dismal scene, and much more dangerous sea, (the pitchlike darkness of the night adding to all our sad variety of woes,) what words in verse or prose could serve to paint our passions, or our expectations? Alas! our only expectation was in the return of morning: it came at last; yet even slowly as it came, when come, we thought it come too soon, a new scene of sudden death being all

the advantage of its first appearance. Our ship was driving full speed towards the breakers on the Cabritton shore, between Bourdeaux and Bayonne; which filled us with ideas more terrible than all before, since those were past, and these seemingly as certain. Beside, to add to our distress, the tide was driving in, and consequently must drive us fast to visible destruction. A state so evident, that one of our sailors, whom great experience had rendered more sensible of our present danger, was preparing to save one, by lashing himself to the mainmast, against the expected minute of desolation. He was about that melancholy work, in utter despair of any better fortune, when, as loud as ever he could bawl, he cried out, A point, a point of wind! To me, who had had too much of it, it appeared like the sound of the last trump; but to the more intelligent crew, it had a different sound. With vigour and alacrity they started from their prayers, or their despair, and with all imaginable speed unlashed the rudder, and hoisted all their sails. Never sure in nature did one minute produce a greater scene of contraries. The more skilful sailors took courage at this happy presage of deliverance. And according to their expectation did it happen; that heavenly point of wind delivered us from the jaws of those breakers, ready open to devour us; and carrying us out to the much more welcome wide sea, furnished every one in the ship with thoughts as distant as we thought our danger.

We endeavoured to make Port Passage; but our ship became unruly, and would not answer her helm; for which reason we were glad to go before the wind, and make for the harbour of St. Jean de Luz. This we attained without any great difficulty; and to the satisfaction of all, sailors as well as passengers, we there cast anchor, after the most terrible storm, (as all the oldest sailors agreed,) and as much danger as ever people escaped.

Here I took notice, that the sailors buoyed up their cables with hogsheads; inquiring into the reason of which, they told me, that the rocks at the bottom of the harbour were by experience found to be so very sharp, that they would otherwise cut their cables asunder. Our ship was obliged to be drawn up into the dock to be refitted; during which I lay in the town, where nothing of moment or worth reciting happened.

I beg pardon for my error; the very movements of princes must always be considerable, and consequently worth recital. While the ship lay in the dock, I was one evening walking upon the bridge, with the little island near it, (which I have before spoke of,) and had a little Spanish dog along with me, when at the further end I spied a lady and three or four gentlemen in company. I kept on my pace of leisure, and so did they; but when I came nearer, I found they as much outnumbered me in the dog, as they did in the human kind; and I soon experienced to my sorrow, that their dogs, by their fierceness and ill-humour, were dogs of quality; having, without warning, or the least declaration of war, fallen upon my little dog according to pristine custom, without any honourable regard to size, interest, or number. However, the good lady, who, by the privilege of her sex must be allowed the most competent judge of inequalities, out of an excess of condescension and goodness, came running to the relief of oppressed poor Tony; and, in courtly language, rated her own oppressive dogs for their great incivility to strangers. The dogs, in the middle of their insulting wrath, obeyed the lady with a vast deal of profound submission; which I could not much wonder at, when I understood that it was a queen dowager of Spain who had chid them.

Our ship being now repaired, and made fit to go out again to sea, we left the harbour of St. Jean de Luz,

and, with a much better passage, as the last tempest was still dancing in my imagination, in ten days' sail we reached Dover. Here I landed on the last day of March, 1713, having not till then seen or touched English shore from the beginning of May, 1705.

I took coach directly for London, where, when I arrived, I thought myself transported into a country more foreign than any I had either fought or pilgrimaged in. Not foreign, do I mean, in respect to others, so much as to itself. I left it, seemingly, under a perfect unanimity: the fatal distinctions of Whig and Tory were then esteemed merely nominal; and of no more ill consequence or danger, than a bee robbed of its sting. The national concern went on with vigour, and the prodigious success of the queen's arms left every soul without the least pretence to a murmur. But now, on my return, I found them on their old establishment, perfect contraries, and as unlikely to be brought to meet as direct angles. Some arraigning, some extolling of a peace; in which time has shown both were wrong, and consequently neither could be right in their notions of it, however an over-prejudiced way of thinking might draw them into one or the other. But Whig and Tory are, in my mind, the completest paradox in nature; and yet like other paradoxes, old as I am, I live in hope to see, before I die, those seeming contraries perfectly reconciled, and reduced into one happy certainty, the public good.

Whilst I stayed at Madrid, I made several visits to my old acquaintance general Mahoni. I remember that he told me, when the earl of Peterborow and he held a conference at Morvidro, his lordship used many arguments to induce him to leave the Spanish service. Mahoni made several excuses, especially that none of his religion was suffered to serve in the English army. My lord replied, that he would undertake to get him excepted by an act of parliament. I have often heard

him speak with great respect of his lordship; and was strangely surprised, that after so many glorious successes he should be sent away.

He was likewise pleased to inform me, that at the battle of Saragossa, it was his fortune to make some of our horse to give way, and he pursued them for a considerable time; but at his return he saw the Spanish army in great confusion: but it gave him the opportunity of attacking our battery of guns, which he performed with great slaughter, both of gunners and matrosses: he at the same time inquired who it was that commanded there in chief. I informed him it was colonel Bourguard, one that understood the economy of the train exceeding well. As for that, he knew nothing of; but that he would vouch, he behaved himself with extraordinary courage, and defended the battery to the utmost extremity, receiving several wounds, and deserved the post in which he acted. A gentleman who was a prisoner at Gualaxara, informed me, that he saw king Philip riding through that town, being only attended with one of his guards.

Saragossa, or Cæsar Augusta, lies upon the river Ebro, being the capital of Arragon; it is a very ancient city, and contains fourteen great churches, and twelve convents. The church of the Lady of the Pillar is frequented by pilgrims, almost from all countries; it was anciently a Roman colony.

Tibi laus, tibi honor, tibi sit gloria, O gloriosa Trinitas, quia tu dedisti mihi hanc opportunitatem, omnes has res gestas recordandi. Nomen tuum sit benedictum, per sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN CARLETON.

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

MRS. CHRISTIAN DAVIES,

COMMONLY CALLED

MOTHER ROSS.

THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

MRS. CHRISTIAN DAVIES,

COMMONLY CALLED

MOTHER ROSS;

Who, in several Campaigns

Under King WILLIAM

AND THE

Late Duke of MARLBOROUGH,

In the Quality of

A *Foot Soldier* and *Dragoon*,

Gave many signal Proofs of an unparallell'd COURAGE and personal BRAVERY.

Taken from her own Mouth when

A *Pensioner* of *Chelsea-Hospital*,

And known to be true by Many who were engaged in those great Scenes of ACTION.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

In the following life of Mrs. Christian Davies, taken from her own mouth, we may remark examples of uncommon intrepidity but rarely found in the fair sex. By her having been long conversant in the camp, she had lost that softness which heightens the beauty of the fair, and contracted a masculine air and behaviour, which however excusable in her, would hardly be so in any other of her sex.

She was long before her death afflicted with a complication of distempers, as dropsy, scurvy, &c., at length her husband being taken ill, she would sit up with him at nights, by which she contracted a cold that threw her into a continual fever, which carried her off in four days.

She died on the 7th of July, 1739, and was interred in the burying-ground belonging to Chelsea Hospital, with military honours.

THE LIFE

AND

ENTERTAINING ADVENTURES

OF

MRS. CHRISTIAN DAVIES,

COMMONLY CALLED MOTHER ROSS.

I WAS born in Dublin, in the year 1667, of parents whose probity acquired them that respect from their acquaintance, which they had no claim to from their birth. My father was both a malster and brewer; in which business he employed at least twenty servants, beside those under the direction of my mother, in a farm he hired of Arthur White, of Leslip, esq.; left entirely to her care. My father was remarkable for industry and vigilance in his affairs, which employing his whole time in town, he never saw my mother but on Sundays, except some extraordinary business required his visiting the farm, which, though of fourscore pounds a year, she managed with great prudence and economy. They were both very tender of me, and spared no cost in my education, though I did not make the best use of their care in this article I had patience, indeed, to learn to read, and become a good needle-woman, but I had too much mercury in me to like a sedentary life, the reason that I was always at the farm to assist my mother; this I did as much

through inclination as duty, being delighted with a country life, it indulging to my love of ramping, and the pleasure I took in manly employments; for I was never better pleased than when I was following the plough, or had a rake, flail, or pitchfork in my hand, which implements I could handle with as much strength and dexterity, if not with more, than any of my mother's servants. I used to get astride upon the horses, and ride them bare-backed about the fields, leaped hedges and ditches, by which I once got a terrible fall, and spoiled a grey mare given to my brother by our grandfather. My father never knew how this mischief happened, which brought me under contribution to a cowherd, who saw me tumble the mare into a dry ditch, and whose secrecy I was obliged to purchase, by giving him, for a considerable time, a cup of ale every night. I shall pass by the wild girlish tricks I and my companions were constantly playing, as they can administer nothing entertaining, and mention one only, to show an odd curiosity in a nobleman. I and four of my companions, were rolling ourselves down a hill, and turning heels over head, when the earl of C——d was passing in his coach, drawn by six beautiful grey horses, by the road, divided from the scene of our diversion by a quickset hedge and a ditch. He stopped his coach to be a spectator of our gambols; but finding that we put an end to our pastime on our perceiving him, (for the youngest of us was seventeen, and consequently had sense enough to think the showing our naked tails not over-decent,) he called to us, and promising to give us a crown apiece, if we would begin and pursue our diversion; our modesty gave way to our avarice, we indulged his lordship's optics, and he, having been amply satisfied by the unreservedness of our performance, kept his word.

I said that I was as active and strong in all the labours of husbandry, as any of our servants; I will therefore give one instance of this. About the begin-

ning of August, 1685, I was employed to stack wheat, and was on the top of one near fifty-four foot high, when I perceived in the road near our farm, the judges and other magistrates in their robes, preceded by kettle-drums, trumpets, and heralds, in their rich coats, coming up the hill, in order to proclaim king James. Animated by the martial music, and desirous to have a nearer view of this glorious sight, which, with the glare of the gold and silver coats, the heralds, trumpets, and kettle-drums wore, had, in a manner, dazzled my sight, I leaped down, ran to, and cleared with a leap a five-barred gate, which was between me and the road they passed, calling to my mother to come and see the show, as I imagined every man there at least a prince. My mother hearing the procession was to proclaim king James, went back, and wept bitterly for some time, but would never tell me the reason for her tears.

Nothing remarkable occurs to my memory from the time of this monarch's being proclaimed, to that in which he was forced to throw himself into the arms of his Irish subjects, having been driven from the throne of England by king William. The Irish very readily espoused his cause, and among others (from a consciousness of its being a duty incumbent on him to support his lawful sovereign, notwithstanding his being of a different religion, which he thought not reason sufficient to affect his loyalty) my father sold all his standing corn, and other things of value, to Mr. Ascham, a neighbouring farmer, and was thus enabled, with what ready money he had by him before, to raise a troop of horse, and provide them with accoutrements, and everything necessary to take the field; and having furnished himself with a fine horse, and whatever else was requisite, he set out at the head of this troop, which was called by his name, Cavenaugh's, to join the rest of the army. I remember I was very fond of riding this horse, for a reason which would have prevented any

other of my sex venturing upon him; I mean his mettle; for he was so fiery, that not one of the troop durst mount him. You will, perhaps, wonder how I could; but I had so often fed him with bread and oats, that he would stand for me to take him up, when at grass, though he would have given twenty men work enough to catch him. When I had once hold of him, I would put on his bridle and lead him into a ditch and bestride him barebacked. I have often mounted him when saddled, and took great pleasure to draw and snap the pistols, and have not seldom made my friends apprehend for my life. I mention this, not as worth notice, but only to show my inclinations, while a girl, were always masculine.

My father having sold his corn standing, as I have already observed, without my mother's knowledge, occasioned a quarrel, in which some of Mr. Ascham's and our men were wounded. After my father was gone to the army, my mother sent reapers into the field to cut the corn; these met with others, sent by the then proprietor, upon the same errand. Words immediately arose, and they very soon came to blows, making use of their sickles, a desperate weapon. The noise soon reached my mother's ears, who understanding how the matter was, withdrew her troops; but not without some difficulty, and having regaled them in her house with a good breakfast and strong liquors, they were at length appeased and dismissed.

While my father bore arms for king James, the neighbouring papists, in time of divine service, came to, and blocked up the church door of Leslip, with butchers' blocks, and other lumber. My mother was then in the church; I was at home, but hearing the noise, and fearing my mother might receive some hurt, I snatched up a spit, and, thus armed, sallied forth to force my way, and come to her assistance; but being resisted by a serjeant, I thrust my spit through the calf of his leg, removed the things which had blocked

up the door, and called to my mother, bidding her come away, for dinner was ready. In the scuffle, the reverend Mr. Malary, the clerk, with several others, were wounded, and I taken into custody for having hurt the serjeant; but upon being heard, and representing the hardship of being interrupted in our worship, when my father was actually in arms for the service of the prince for whom they pretended great zeal, though in fact, they ought rather to be esteemed his concealed enemies, since, by such actions, they alienated the hearts of his subjects, and gave ground to his enemies to raise a clamour, I was acquitted.

The battle of the Boyne put an end to all my father's hopes for king James; for his army was there defeated, and he, with the rest of the shattered troops, trusted their safety to the swiftness of their horses' heels, rather than to the strength of their own arms. My father, in company with a very handsome young French gentleman, who served as lieutenant in the king's forces, made the best of his way to our house, without staying to bait on the road. My mother, who understood what belonged to good manners, as she had been genteelly educated by her father, Bryan Bembrick, of Wheatly, in the bishopric of Durham, esq.; who had a particular care to bring up his children in a polite manner, received the stranger with great civility, and having ordered them a hot supper, prepared my bed for his reception that night; but he lay no longer than till three of the morning, when my father, alarmed with the noise of some of his friends who fled from the conquerors, imagining they were the victorious forces of king William, in pursuit of the defeated remains of king James's army, roused the French officer, and got out their horses with the utmost expedition. While they were saddling, my father took a short, but sorrowful leave of his wife and children, whom, with tears in his eyes, he blessed and recommended to the Divine protection: then turning to my mother, My dear, said he, do not

be dejected; comfort yourself, that whatever misfortunes befall us, we suffer in a just cause, and for having done what is the duty of every loyal subject; at least, my conscience tells me, that I have acted as I ought, and as I was bound to do by my oath of allegiance, from which I know no power on earth that can absolve me. *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* His ways are inscrutable, and I humbly submit to his decrees, which are all founded in wisdom. As for you, keep at home with your children, and be their support, for you being a protestant, need apprehend no danger from the enemy; may they hereafter repay your maternal care and tenderness by a filial duty, and prove your comfort; but never torment yourself with uneasy thoughts for your unfortunate husband. Think of me no more. God forbid, said she, and bursting into a flood of tears; my father, who could not bear to see her weep, as he loved her with a sincere tenderness, ran out of the room, and he and the officer mounting their horses, fled with precipitation. My mother was in too great affliction to admit of any rest, and rose immediately; but we, who did not take my father's departure so much to heart, lay till daybreak.

About twelve months after this, we had news of king James's forces, commanded by monsieur St. Ruth, being defeated at the battle of Aghrim, where general Ginkle obtained a complete victory. In this battle my father was dangerously wounded; though, by the skill of able surgeons, who attended him, he was in a fair way of recovery; but the night before he intended to return to his family, one Kelly, an Irish papist, who served him, taking the advantage of his hurt, and of a dark night, ran away with his horses to general Ginkle's army. This villanous ingratitude from a man whom he had always treated with great humanity, had such an effect on my father, that he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in a short time.

After the battle, in which the French general St. Ruth was killed, the English laid siege to Limerick. Captain Bodeaux, who, after the battle of the Boyne, fled with my father to our house, was here in garrison, and commanded that body of troops which defended the bridge, in which post he behaved with so much gallantry, that he was admired, and his death lamented, by even his enemies, who, to their great surprise, found, on stripping this brave officer, that it was a woman had given such proofs of an invincible courage.

Though my mother had, during my father's illness, procured him a pardon for having appeared in arms, and levied men for the service of king James, yet, notwithstanding, the government seized upon all his effects.

I had, by this time, attained to an age of maturity, and happening to take the eye of a son of my mother's first cousin, named Thomas Howel, whose uncle, on the father's side, was a bishop, himself a student, and fellow of Dublin college, he made warm love to me; and for two years together carried on his addresses: his assiduity, and the opinion I had of his sincerity, were not without effect in his favour; and such that I found my esteem for him greater than my concern for my own interest; for having no fortune to bring him, except a barrel of brass crowns, which king James was not in a condition to pay in silver, I would not consent to his ruin; though he might, as he proposed, support us, by keeping a Latin school. When we eagerly wish a thing, we seldom examine thoroughly the consequences which may attend the possession of what we desire; and, if we cannot help seeing the evils probably consequential of the completion of our wishes, we easily satisfy ourselves with arguments which flatter our inclinations, however weak: this was his case; for when I laid before him the certain poverty which would attend his marrying a woman without a fortune, he removed the objection, at least as to his

own part, with the airy prospect of preferments in the church; and in the interim, with what money he could get by a school, sufficient, as he flattered himself, to maintain me like a lady: and when I represented to him the deplorable condition of a clergyman's widow, with, possibly, a number of children; he answered, that his economy should ward against that evil. I, who looked upon all this as a castle in the air, would not consent to what he wished and thought, his happiness, though I could not esteem it other than his undoing, as well as my own ruin; and therefore very seriously begged of him to give over his pursuits, but to no purpose: he still continued his visits and solicitations, which were more frequent, longer, and more urgent than usual. One day he came to see me when I was the only person in the house, and then busied in making the beds; he laid hold of the opportunity, threw himself at my feet, embraced my knees, and urged his suit with such vehemence, such warmth of expression, such tender embraces, such ardent kisses, that finding by my eyes, and short breath, I had catched the contagious desire, he added force to vows of eternal constancy and marriage, and, with little resistance on my side, throwing me upon the bed, deprived me of that inestimable jewel which a maiden ought to preserve preferable to life. He stayed not long after his having perpetrated a deed which gave me up a prey to the deepest melancholy; when, on his withdrawing, he gave room for bitter reflection. I repented my weakness; and, with sincere tears of penitence, cursed the time, myself, and the undoer; I raved, tore my hair, and was not far from madness. My mother and the rest of the family stayed abroad till evening; and my reason returning, I endeavoured to compose myself that I might not betray my folly: my eyes being pretty much swollen, my mother took notice of it, and asked me what was the matter; but she received only an evasive answer. I could get no rest all the following night, and the remembrance of

what had passed, had such an effect upon me that I lost both my colour and stomach; I hated to see any of my acquaintance, and would, if possible, have hid me from the light of the sun: my melancholy was such, that every one took notice of it, and my afflicted mother, sensibly touched with this sudden change, often tenderly inquired of me what ground I had for the sadness which gave her so much uneasiness; for she feared so sudden and settled a grief, as was impossible for me to dissemble, would endanger my life. She could draw nothing from me, but a request to quit her house; which she readily agreeing to, in hopes a change of air and company might produce also a change in my temper, sent me to my aunt's, who kept a public house in Dublin. Here I often met my student, but so carefully avoided allowing him any opportunity of speaking to me, and took such an inveterate hatred to him, that he at last was sensible his pursuit was vain. My melancholy, after I found no ill-consequence attend our guilt, began to wear off by degrees, and I gradually recovered my colour and cheerfulness of temper. I lived with my aunt upwards of four years, and behaved to her with such dutiful respect, such observance and vigilance, and with such a reserved, yet obliging manner to others, that I entirely captivated her good opinion, and engaged her tenderness; for, at her death, she left me sole heiress to all she had, and in possession of a house well-furnished, and well-accustomed. I now received the reward of my prudent behaviour; I lived in ease and plenty; my business was considerable; I got money apace, and was esteemed by all my neighbours and acquaintance. Never woman was in a happier situation; for I was at the height of my ambition, and had not a wish to make. In a word, I was thoroughly content, and had reason so to be, till love, too often the bane of our sex; love, who has not seldom ruined noble families, nay, destroyed cities, and lain kingdoms waste; envious of the calm I enjoyed,

came to imbitter my peace, disturb the tranquillity of my life, and make me know, by experience, the short duration of all sublunary satisfaction. Richard Welsh, a young fellow who had served my aunt, and, after her death, continued in the same capacity with me, found the way to my heart. He was very well made in his person, had a handsome, manly face; was of a generous, open temper; sober, vigilant, and active in his business; very regular in his life, and modest in his behaviour. In a word, he was, or appeared to me, a man whom any woman might love without having her good sense called in question. My pride, at first, made me endeavour to stifle this growing passion, and I tried to conquer it by reason. I thought it would be a reflection upon me to marry my servant, and I was sensible that it must be to the disadvantage of my fortune; for though by his economy he had saved some money, yet was it a trifle to what my aunt left me, and which my business was still daily improving: but love and reason seldom agree, and when once that despotic tyrant gets possession of the heart, he will also rule the head: my pride and reason made but vain efforts, and he would listen to neither; the more they disputed, the more absolute the little domineerer grew; in a very little time he humbled my haughtiness, and silenced my reason: the sight of Richard Welsh overturned the strongest resolutions that I could make; his name was music to my ears; if I did not see him, no other object could please my eyes, and I knew no other happiness but in possession of Richard Welsh. Though my pride and reason were thoroughly vanquished, yet my modesty held out; for I thought it indecent, and a reflection on my sex, to make the first overture. This caused me many a restless night, till I thought on an expedient, which was to acquaint one of my friends with my situation, and engage her to put Richard upon making his addresses to me. She found an opportunity of talking to him in private, which she

did in the following manner. Richard, I have thought your mistress happy in so trusty and sprightly a servant, who so well understands, and takes such honest care of her business; I know she is very sensible of your deserts, and gives you an excellent character; nay, I have heard her talk of you in such a manner, that between you and me, friend Richard, I fancy she has a sneaking kindness for you, and I believe it would be no hard matter for you to carry her, and be master instead of servant in the house, if you have the courage to make the attack. As I fancy I am not much out in my conjecture, I was resolved to take the first opportunity to acquaint you with your good fortune, if I am not deceived, as I believe I am not; make the best of this advice, and remember the proverb, Faint heart never won fair lady. Richard answered, that he liked his mistress very well, and he had a very good place, which he should be loath to lose, as he was afraid he should, if he made such an attempt, and did not succeed. Believe me, Richard, said my friend, none of us all are displeased at being admired; we may pretend to be angry; but it is but a cloak to cover the inward satisfaction we find in being capable to inspire love. Your mistress is a woman, young, and not exempt from the failings of her sex: try your fortune with her, and, my life on it, you carry her. Richard thanked her, and promised he would follow her advice, which he did, in such terms as still endeared him more to me. I made, at first, some difficulty to hear him out; and putting on an air of severity, which, however, he might plainly perceive was counterfeit, bid him mind the business of the house as he ought to do, and he would find a cure for his pretended passion, which was the common effect of idleness. Richard catched at the words pretended and idleness. My dear mistress, said he, if your modesty would allow you to view yourself with the same impartiality as others look upon you, your glass would convince you, that nobody is more

capable to give love, and consequently mine is not pretended, or the effect of idleness, since your own approbation of my diligence frees me from that imputation. No, I love you sincerely; and it is the effect of your agreeable temper. If I have not sooner told you this, it was my fear of displeasing you, and losing my place; for I find so great a pleasure in being near, and seeing you, that I prefer that alone to all the profit, were it ten times as much, of your service; and will rather continue your servant, than accept of being master of the best-accustomed house in Dublin, to lose the satisfaction which I find in the sight of you. Very romantic truly, said I; no doubt you have been studying some book of compliments, and come to practise upon me. There needs no study, replied Richard, to speak the sentiments of my heart; and though your modesty dissembles it, I am certain you must be conscious that it can be no easy matter to see, and converse with you, as I have done, and not be sensible of the effects of so many allurements. Away to your business, cried I; I don't love flattery; and I know too well the character of your sex, to believe a word any one of you utter; for your dissimulation goes hand-in-hand with your profession; I will hear no more; begone, I say, and think you are well off that I don't show more anger, which your former diligence prevents. You can't, answered he, be more severe in your punishment of my faults, than to banish me thus without the least glimpse of hopes. Go, go, said I, repent this impertinence, and, if you can find a plausible excuse, I will give you a hearing at night when the company is gone. O, let me thank you, cried my saucy rogue, for this goodness; and seizing me in his arms, he almost stifled me with kisses. I never before was so well pleased, though I pretended to be terrible angry, and threatened, if ever he was rude again, I would make him repent it. Faith, my dear mistress, replied he, you have given me such a taste of happiness, that I will undergo any punish-

ment to repeat it; as he indeed instantly did, and I was better pleased, and more angry, and bid him get out of my sight, and attend the customers; which, being called upon, he did, not at all frightened with my threats. I went soon after into my bar, where Richard watched my looks, and finding I turned away my head and blushed when I met his eyes, he interpreted it a good omen, and resolved to push his point.

At night, when the company was all gone, notwithstanding my resentment of Richard's rudeness, he had the impudence to come into my chamber, telling the maid he was going to settle some accounts with me. As soon as I saw him, I asked him if he had forgot his late rudeness; for, if he had not, he showed an uncommon assurance, in daring to come into my sight. He replied, he was a servant, and as he had always obeyed my orders, he should be now wanting to his duty, if he had not come; and that he was resolved never to be, while he had the pleasure of being under my roof. I desired to know what he meant. You gave me order, said he, to come and excuse myself for a fault which I own I can't repent. O, said I, I will rather forgive you without hearing your excuse, than expose myself to the like impertinence. Indeed, my dear mistress, till you are less inviting, I am of opinion, I shall never be cured of my impertinence, though you may, if you please, change that word, and call it, as it really is, a sincere, disinterested fondness, by making your man your husband. I will be still your servant; and, as I have always studied your interest, I shall then study both that, and your happiness; your ease shall be my constant care; and you shall continue as much mistress of what you have, and dispose of it as you now do: for I shall never know any pleasure but that of pleasing you. I answered, that if he could persuade me to believe him, the world must censure me very much to marry my servant, a man without a fortune, when I had enough, and was in a way of business to live easy. To

this he answered, that our happiness did not depend on the opinion of the world; for do what we will, we cannot please everybody; that it was more reasonable for me to imagine, I should be happy with a man that loved me, even to doating, and whom I had also engaged by a tie of gratitude, than with one whom I married with a view of interest. That a great many rich people were strangers to that ease and content, which they had reason to envy in many much beneath them in fortune. That for his part, he should slight the censure of the world, were he the master, and I the servant, and, consulting only his own happiness, look upon what he possessed, no further valuable than as it would prove the sincerity of his love, by making me mistress of it all. He then threw himself on his knees, and grasping mine in a sort of ecstasy, he continued; Believe me, my dear mistress, I have no view of interest; I love you for yourself, not for your money; of which I will never pretend to be other than a just steward, would you consent to make me the happiest man alive. I bid him get up, and as it was late, leave me to go to bed, and I would consider on what he had said. He answered, That I could not expect he could obey such cruel orders without some consideration. Suffer me to take one kiss, that I may flatter myself I have recovered your favour, and you shall see me all obedience. Well, well, said I, anything to get rid of you. On this, he snatched me in his arms, kissed and embraced me with an ardour that almost took away my senses, as well as my breath, and left my room: he had put me into such an agitation, and I fetched my breath so short and thick, that when I had a little recovered myself, I trembled at the risk I had run, and attributed my not being again surprised, rather to his respect, which prevented the attempt, than to any power I should have had to resist him. This reflection made me resolve not to admit him any more into my chamber till he had a right to do what he pleased, and it would

be my duty not to resist him. To be short, he continued his solicitations, and my friend who had put him upon them, pretended to plead on his behalf; I seemed to yield to the strength of her reasons, and we were married in a week after the first declaration. I expected to be censured by all my acquaintance for having married my servant; but I was agreeably disappointed, and they, on the contrary, complimented me upon the prudence of my choice. Richard proved a tender, careful, and obliging husband; and as he promised, left me as much mistress of my effects, as I was when single. Whatever I did was well done, and he never seemed so well pleased, as when he had an opportunity to please me. He neither altered his dress, nor his manner of life; while he was servant he was always tight and clean, which, by the vails he got, besides his wages, he might very well be. When he was master, he bought neither more suits, nor finer cloth; his change of fortune, made no change in his temper or behaviour; he was altogether as fearful of giving me the least cause of complaint; was humble to our customers, and, if possible, more active and vigilant in our business. He never forgot himself; and if sometimes gentlemen made him sit down with them, he paid them the same deference, and did not saucily, like too many publicans, imagine their condescension set him upon a foot with them, and gave him a license to talk and behave impertinently. He was remarkable for his sobriety, which, with his modesty, good sense, and entertaining wit, endeared him to the best company that frequented the house. In a word, he had good sense, which he made a proper use of, and never would drown. We lived happily four years without any intervening misfortune; in which time, I brought him two fine boys, and was big of my third child, when the fickle goddess, weary of lavishing on me her favours, turned her back upon me, and resolved to make me sensible that she deserved the epithet of variable.

Alderman Forest, in James-street, furnished us with beer, and my husband went one day thither to pay him 50*l.*; but, to my great surprise, and contrary to custom, he did not return all that day: this gave me some uneasiness, which increased when it was grown entirely dark; but when the night advanced, and I heard no news of him, I concluded he must of necessity be murdered, for the sake of the money he had carried out, and grew quite outrageous. I despatched people every way to find him, but all their endeavours were to no manner of purpose; they heard, indeed, that he had been at the alderman's, and he owned the receipt of the money, but could give no account of him; other than that a gentleman was in his company when he paid the 50*l.*, and that they went away together. I now concluded, (though, as it proved, very unjustly,) that the person mentioned to have been with him, had, upon some private pique, murdered him, and conveyed away his body.

My grief for his loss, for all search proved vain, was equal to the tender affection I bore him, and made me unfit to look after my house; the care of which I trusted to a nominal friend, who I found took care of her own interest to the prejudice of mine; for, instead of gaining while she had the management of my affairs, I ran out money. Time having somewhat mollified my grief, and a twelvemonth having elapsed since my husband had disappeared, I bought mourning for myself and children, and took upon me the care of the business.

After having given my dear Richard over for dead, I was surprised by the receipt of a letter from him, which was as follows:

DEAR CRISTIAN,

This is the twelfth letter I have sent you without any answer to my former, which would both surprise and very much grieve me, did I not flatter myself that

your silence proceeds from the miscarriage of my letters. It is from this opinion that I repeat the account of my sudden and unpremeditated departure, and the reason of my having enlisted for a soldier. It was my misfortune, when I went out to pay the alderman the 50*l.*, to meet ensign C——m, who having formerly been my schoolfellow, would accompany me to the alderman's house, from whence we went, at his request, and took a hearty bottle at the tavern, where he paid the reckoning; having got a little too much wine in my head, I was easily persuaded to go on board a vessel that carried recruits, and take a bowl of punch, which I did in the captain's cabin, where being pretty much intoxicated, I was not sensible of what was doing upon deck. In the interim, the wind sprang up fair, the captain set sail with what recruits were on board, and we had so quick a passage, that we reached Helvoet Sluys before I had recovered from the effects of liquor. It is impossible for me to paint the despair I was in, finding myself thus divided from my dear wife and children, landed on a strange shore, without money or friends to support me. I raved, tore my hair, and curst my drunken folly, which had brought upon me this terrible misfortune, which I thought in vain to remedy by getting a ship to carry me back, but there was none to be found. The ensign, who possibly did not intend me this injury, did all he could to comfort me, and advised me to make a virtue of necessity, and take on in some regiment. My being destitute and unknown, compelled me to follow his advice, though with the greatest reluctance, and I now am, though much against my inclination, a private sentinel in lord O——y's regiment of foot, where I fear I must pass the remainder of a wretched life, under the deepest affliction for my being deprived of the comfort I enjoyed while blessed with you and my dear babies: if Providence, in his mercy, does not relieve me; the hopes of which, and of once embracing those alone who

engross my tenderest affection, you, my dearest Christian, and my poor children, make me endeavour to support my misfortune, and preserve a life, which, without you, would be too miserable to be worth the care of your

Unfortunate, but ever loving husband,
RICHARD WELSH.

This letter renewed my grief, and gave new fountains to my eyes. I had bewailed him dead, and now I lamented him living, looking upon his unfortunate situation worse than death, as he was deprived of all means of returning to me; for I despaired of his officers parting with him. When I had read the letter, I was at first stupified; I stood without motion, and my trouble being too great to allow of tears, I gave a sudden shriek and fell down, without the least signs of life remaining in me. When, by the care and charity of my friends and neighbours who came to my assistance, I was brought to my senses and speech, I burst into a flood of tears; but when I was asked the occasion of this sudden grief, I, for some time, answered nothing, but, My dear Richard, O must I never see thee more! O my dear, dear husband! once the comfort of my life, now the source of my misfortunes, I can never support the loss. In a word, I was in such agonies, and fainted so often, that they who were about me almost despaired of my life, or if I survived this new affliction, of which I was not capable to give them an account, that it would be the loss of my senses. Some of my friends would watch with me that night, and had it not been for their care, I had certainly put an end to that life which I thought insupportable. In the getting me to bed, my letter dropped, and their curiosity having taught them the cause of my distracting trouble, they endeavoured to comfort me with the hopes of recovering my husband; but to no purpose, I was inconsolable, and closed not my eyes all that

night; in the morning I thought of going in search of my dear Richard, and this gave some ease to my tortured mind. I began to flatter myself that I should meet no great difficulty in finding him out, and resolved in one of his suits, for we were both of a size, to conceal my sex, and go directly for Flanders, in search of him whom I preferred to everything else the world could afford me, which, indeed, had nothing alluring, in comparison with my dear Richard, and whom the hopes of seeing had lessened every danger to which I was going to expose myself. The pleasure I found in the thoughts of once more regaining him, recalled my strength, and I was grown much gayer than I had been at any time in my supposed widowhood. I was not long deliberating, after this thought had possessed me, but immediately set about preparing what was necessary for my ramble; and disposing of my children, my eldest with my mother, and that which was born after my husband's departure, with a nurse, (my second son was dead,) I told my friends, that I would go to England in search of my husband, and return with all possible expedition after I had found him. My goods I left in the hands of such friends as had spare house-room, and my house I let to a cooper. Having thus ordered my affairs, I cut off my hair, and dressed me in a suit of my husband's, having had the precaution to quilt the waistcoat, to preserve my breasts from hurt, which were not large enough to betray my sex, and putting on the wig and hat I had prepared, I went out and bought me a silver-hilted sword, and some Holland shirts: but was at a loss how I should carry my money with me, as it was contrary to law to export above 5*l.* out of the kingdom; I thought at last of quilting it in the waistband of my breeches, and by this method I carried with me fifty guineas without suspicion.

I had now nothing upon my hands to prevent my setting out; wherefore, that I might get as soon as possible to Holland, I went to the sign of the Golden Last,

where ensign Herbert Laurence, who was beating up for recruits, kept his rendezvous. He was in the house at the time I got there, and I offered him my service to go against the French, being desirous to show my zeal for his majesty king William, and my country. The hopes of soon meeting with my husband, added a sprightliness to my looks, which made the officer say, I was a clever brisk young fellow; and having recommended my zeal, he gave me a guinea enlisting money, and a crown to drink the king's health, and ordered me to be enrolled, having told him my name was Christopher Welsh, in captain Tichbourn's company of foot, in the regiment commanded by the marquis de Pisare. The lieutenant of our company was Mr. Gardiner, our ensign Mr. Welsh.

We stayed but a short time in Dublin after this, but, with the rest of the recruits, were shipped for Holland, weighed anchor, and soon arrived at Williamstadt, where we landed and marched to Gorcum. Here our regimentals and first mountings were given us. The next day we set out for Gertrudenburg, and proceeded forward to Landen, where we were incorporated in our respective regiments, and then joined the grand army, which was in expectation of a general battle, the enemy being very near within cannon-shot. Having been accustomed to soldiers, when a girl, and delighted with seeing them exercise, I very soon was perfect, and applauded by my officers for my dexterity in going through it.

In a day or two after we arrived at Landen, I was ordered on the night guard, and, by direction of my officer, was posted at the bed-chamber door of the elector of Hanover. Mustapha, a Turk, and valet-de-chambre to his most serene highness, while I was here upon duty, introduced to the elector, a fine, handsome, jolly lady, who was what we call a black beauty; she was dressed in a rich silk, and her gown was tied with ribbons from her breast to her feet. I thought the

lady went with a great deal of alacrity, as I believe many more of our sex would visit a sovereign prince with a particular satisfaction; especially if agreeable in his person, as the elector, who then wore his own hair, and the finest I ever saw, really was. When I saw his late majesty, I told him, I remembered him in fine hair of his own, which became him better than that of possibly some lewd women, which he then wore.

Before I was relieved, the French drew nearer to our army, and were engaged by some of the troops of the allies; I heard the cannon play, and the small shot rattle about me, which, at first, threw me into a sort of panic, having not been used to such rough music: however, I recovered from my fear, and being ordered by lord Cholmondeley to repair instantly to my regiment, as I was going, I received a wound from a musket-ball, which grazed on my leg, a little above the ankle, but did not hurt the bone. Lord Cholmondeley was present, and expressed his concern for my wound in very humane terms, ordering me at the same time to be carried off the field.

A short account of this battle may not be disagreeable to my readers, since it is possible they will nowhere find one more impartial; that given by the French, being too vain, and the relations we have from the English writers, lessening too much the loss we there sustained.

The duke of Luxemburg having invested Huy, the 18th of July, 1693, king William, to make a diversion, detached the prince of Wirtemberg with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which forced the French lines in Flanders, and put the country under contribution. This detachment, and another the king had sent off to cover Liege, greatly weakened our army. Luxemburg, who had just carried Huy, laid hold on so favourable an opportunity, and drawing together all his forces, as if he had a design upon Liege, on the

28th, about four in the afternoon, presented himself before the allies, who being sensible that they were much the weaker, had posted themselves between the Geete and the brook of Landen. The fatigue of a long march, and the day being so far spent, made him defer the battle to the next day; but this delay gave king William an opportunity to have secured his troops, by retiring in the night to Zoutleeuw, but his majesty rather choosing to wait the enemy, fortified the front of his camp, guarded all the passes, placed his cannon to the greatest advantage, and in a word, took all possible precaution to give the French general a warm reception.

At four the next morning the French advanced in good order, within cannon-shot of our intrenchments, that they might have time to raise their batteries; after which, the battle began at the village of Laar, with the left wing of our army, where a terrible slaughter was made. The foot, which were posted behind the intrenchments, suffered the enemy to advance very near to our cannon, and then firing upon them, covered the field with dead bodies, and swept down whole battalions, which lay dead in the same ranks and order as they advanced. The French, notwithstanding, made two vigorous attacks, but did not get an inch of ground upon us, and their obstinacy only augmenting their loss, they gave over on that side about eleven o'clock, but it was to begin again with equal violence with our right wing, which was posted at the village of Neerlanden. The enemy here met with the same reception, and being repulsed, they made so considerable a movement backwards, that we thought them quite dispirited, and sick of the undertaking; but they, leaving some troops to keep the main body and our left in play, marched with the major part of their forces, and their cannon, to the village Laar, to make one more attack upon our left wing, which was both more vigorous and bloody than the two preceding. The allies defended themselves

with equal bravery, till borne down by numbers, they were forced to abandon the village Laar, and the ground between the intrenchment and the brook. The French horse having by this advantage an opportunity to extend themselves, trod under foot all that opposed their passage, and fell upon the rear of the infantry which defended the trenches. As it was now impossible to drive them out of the post they had won, king William, seeing all efforts vain, ordered the retreat to be sounded. Some few corps retreated in good order, and without confusion, which were mostly Dutch, but the rest took to flight in such disorder and precipitation, that the bridge broke down, and the enemy made bloody havoc of us; whole regiments threw themselves into the Geete, to gain the opposite side, and such numbers were drowned, that their bodies made a bridge for their flying companions, and saved them from the fury of the conquerors. The king, indeed, lost the battle with about sixteen thousand men, the French say twenty thousand, seventy-six cannon, and ninety colours, but he lost nothing in point of reputation. For Lewis XIV. could not help giving him the praise of a great general and brave prince, saying, that, Luxemburg had, indeed, attacked like a prince of Condé; but, that the prince of Orange had made his retreat like a marshal Turenne; and the prince of Conti, in a letter he wrote to his princess, said, that king William exposing himself with such heroic bravery as he did in this battle, deserved the quiet possession of a crown which he wore with so much glory; and, indeed, the king not only performed the part of a general, but even of a subaltern officer, for he alighted no less than four times to lead on the foot to the attack; and was at the head of the squadron, commanded by lord Galway, in the hottest part of the battle; he had two led horses killed by him, and a musket-ball went through his sash. It is true, on account of my wound, I could not be an eyewitness of

what I have related; but as I was in the army, on the spot, I had it from those who were.

I was two months incapable of service; after which I joined my regiment, which was under cover the remaining part of the summer, and at the approach of winter was ordered into quarters at Gertrudenburg.

While I stayed here, the dikes near the town were ruined by worms, and a village near our quarters was drowned. As the repairing the damaged dikes required the utmost expedition, the English soldiers were commanded to assist the Dutch, and we were obliged to work day and night up to our waists in water, till they were repaired. Lieutenant Gardiner and I staying, the last time we were at the work, somewhat too long, being resolved to see everything secure, narrowly escaped drowning by the tide coming upon us; however, we supported each other, and waded out hand-in-hand, long after the others had gone off.

The following summer was spent in marches and countermarches to watch the motion of the French. During this peaceful campaign, as we were foraging, the French came unexpectedly upon, and took threescore of us prisoners, stripped us, and, by very tiresome marches, conducted us to St. Germain's en lay. The first night, the Dutch and English were promiscuously imprisoned, but the next day king James's queen caused the English to be separated, to have clean straw every night, while the Dutch had none, and allowed us five farthings a day per head, for tobacco, a whole pound of bread, and a pint of wine a day for each man; and, moreover, ordered our clothes to be returned us. The other prisoners had but half a pound of bread a day, drank water, and lay almost naked, in filthy dark prisons, without other support. The duke of Berwick frequently came to see that we were well used, and not defrauded of our allowance. He advised us to take on in the French service, as seven of the English did: he spoke

to me in particular; I answered, that I had taken an oath already to king William, and if there was no crime in breaking it, as I was satisfied it was one of the blackest dye, I could not in honour break my engagement, nothing in my opinion being more unbecoming an honest man and a soldier, than to break even his word once given, and to wear a double face. He seemed to applaud my principles, and only added, that if I had accepted conditions, I should have been well used; but the choice depended entirely on me.

Captain Cavenaugh, who was my first cousin, and an officer in the French troops, often came to the prison, and I was at first apprehensive of his knowing me; but afterwards, had an inclination to discover myself to him, as I certainly had done had my husband been dead, or had I found him; but my fear of such a discovery being an impediment to the search of my husband, got the better of my inclination.

In about nine days after our imprisonment, Mr. Van-Dedan, a trumpet, and now living in Chelsea, came to exchange us against some French prisoners, and we were set at liberty; after which, as it was a duty incumbent on us, we went to the palace to return her majesty grateful thanks for the good offices she had done us, and, indeed, we were greatly indebted to her charity. She had the condescension to see us: she told me, I was a pretty young fellow, and it grieved her much that I had not my liberty sooner.

At our return to the army, we heard the melancholy news of the death of queen Mary, on which our drums and colours, &c., were put into mourning, and we soon after drew off into winter-quarters. I was in Gorcum, where my grief for my husband being drowned in the hopes of finding him, I indulged in the natural gayety of my temper, and lived very merrily. In my frolics, to kill time, I made my addresses to a burgher's daughter, who was young and pretty. As I had formerly had a great many fine things said to myself, I was at no loss

in the amorous dialect; I ran over all the tender nonsense (which I look upon the lovers' heavy cannon, as it does the greatest execution with raw girls) employed on such attacks; I squeezed her hand, whenever I could get an opportunity; sighed often, when in her company; looked foolishly, and practised upon her all the ridiculous airs which I had often laughed at, when they were used as snares against myself. When I afterwards reflected on this unjust way of amusement, I heartily repented it; for it had an effect I did not wish; the poor girl grew really fond of me, and uneasy when I was absent; for which she never failed chiding me if it was but for half a day. When I was with her, she always regaled me in the best manner she could, and nothing was too good or too dear to treat me with, if she could compass it; but notwithstanding a declared passion for me, I found her nicely virtuous; for when I pretended to take an indecent freedom with her, she told me, that she supposed her tenderness for me was become irksome, since I took a method to change it into hatred. It was true, that she did not scruple to own she loved me as her life, because she thought her inclination justifiable, as well as lawful; but then she loved her virtue better than she did her life. If I had dishonourable designs upon her, I was not the man she loved; she was mistaken, and had found the ruffian, instead of the tender husband she hoped in me.

I own this rebuff gained my heart; and taking her in my arms, I told her, that she had heightened the power of her charms by her virtue; for which I should hold her in greater esteem, but could not love her better, as she had already engrossed all my tenderness; and, indeed, I was now fond of the girl, though mine, you know, could not go beyond a platonic love. In the course of this amour, a serjeant of our regiment, but not of the company I belonged to, sat down before the citadel of her heart, and made regular approaches, which cost him a number of sighs, and a great deal of

time; but finding I commanded there, and it was impossible to take it by a regular siege, he resolved to give a desperate assault, sword in hand. One day, therefore, while I was under arms, he came to her, and without any previous indication of his design, a fair opportunity offering, he very bravely, and like a man of honour, employed force to obtain what he could not get by assiduity. The girl defended herself stoutly, and in the scuffle she lost her cap, and her clothes were most of them torn off her back; but notwithstanding her resolute defence, he had carried the fortress by storm, had not some of the neighbours opportunely come in to her assistance, alarmed by her shrieks, and made him retreat in a very shameful manner.

No sooner had she recovered, and dressed herself, than she went in search of, and found me, in my rank, standing to my arms. She told me what had passed, and begged me to revenge the insult offered her. I was so irritated at this account, that I could hardly contain myself: I was seized with a tremor all over my body; often changed colour, and, had I not been prevented by my duty, I should that instant have sought and killed him. However, I stifled my resentment till I was dismissed by the officer, and then went in quest of my rival, whom having found, I surlily asked, how he durst attempt the honour of a woman, who was, for aught he knew, my wife; to whom he was sensible I had long made honourable love. I told him, the action in itself was so base, that it made him unworthy of the king's cloth, which he wore, and ought to be the quarrel of every man in the regiment, as it cast a reflection on the whole corps; but, as I was principally concerned in this insult, so I was sufficient to chastise his impudence, and required immediate satisfaction for the affront. He answered me, that I was a proud, prodigal coxcomb. I leave, said I, Billingsgate language to women and cowards; I am not come to a tongue-battle, Mr. Serjeant, but to exact a

reparation of honour. If you have as much courage in the face of a man, as you have in assaulting defenceless women, go with me instantly to that windmill (which I pointed to), and I will soon convince you that general T——n had too good an opinion of you, when he took his livery off your back to put on the king's, and gave you a halberd. The fellow had been footman to general T——n, and this reproach stinging him to the quick, he only told me, he would soon cool my courage; and we went together to the windmill, where we both drew. I was so irritated at the ill-usage of my sweetheart, and the affront put upon me in her person, that I thought of nothing but putting the villain out of the world. We both drew, and the first thrust I made, gave him a slant wound in his right pap, which had well nigh done his business. He returned this with a long gash on my right arm, (for his sword was both for cutting and thrusting, as all soldiers' swords are; I fought with that I had purchased in Dublin,) but before he could recover his guard, I gave him a thrust in the right thigh, about half a span from the pope's eye; the next pass, he aimed at my breast, but hit my right arm; though it was little more than a small prick of a pin, he being feeble with the loss of blood which flowed plentifully from his wounds. By this time some soldiers on duty having seen our first attack, a file of musketeers, under the command of a serjeant, came up, took us prisoners, disarmed both, and sent him directly to the hospital, and, as my wounds were slight, as I was the aggressor, and beside, a common soldier, conducted me to prison, for the serjeant was thought mortally wounded, and did not recover of a considerable time. I sent my sweetheart an account of what had happened, and where I then was. She acquainted her father with the villanous attempt which the serjeant had made upon her, and let him know it was her quarrel, which I had taken up, was the cause of my confinement. The good burgher made a proper

representation of the affront offered his family, and found means, in four days' time, to procure me a pardon from king William, an order to release me immediately; to return me my sword, pay my arrears, and give me my discharge from the regiment; all which were punctually performed. The minute I was enlarged, I went to thank my deliverer for my liberty; she, on her side, as gratefully acknowledged my risking my life in revenging the insult done her. She expressed herself with great tenderness, and told me, that when she heard of my imprisonment, she heartily repented her having acquainted me with the serjeant's villanous attempt; blamed herself for having exposed me to so great a danger, and wished she had buried the action in silence. She proceeded, It had been prudent in me, for the sake of both; for you would not have ventured your life, and I should not have given the ill-natured part of the world any ground to censure my conduct; for what interpretation may it not make of your being warm in my cause? This consideration makes me throw off the restraint our sex lies under, and propose to you what I have expected from you, the screening my honour by our marriage. My dear, said I, you offer me the greatest happiness this world can afford me; will you give me leave to ask you of your father? My father! cried she; you cannot imagine a rich burgher will give his daughter to a foot-soldier; for though I think you merit everything, yet my father will not view you with my eyes. This answer I expected, and, indeed, my being very sure that her father would not consent, was the reason why I proposed speaking to him. I asked her, since she imagined her father would be averse to my happiness, what could be done? I will, said she, run the hazard of your fortune, in case my father proves irreconcileable after our marriage. My dear life, said I, there are two obstacles to such a proposal, which are, with me, insuperable. How could I bear to see you deserted

by your father, deprived of a fortune, and stripped of all the comforts of life, exposed to hardships and insults, to which women who follow a camp are liable? And how can I, with honour, consent to bring your father's grey hairs to the grave in sorrow, by robbing him of a daughter whom he tenderly loves, by way of return for having procured my liberty? No, my charmer, though I am no more than a common sentinel, this breast is capable of as much tenderness, and contains as much honour, as that of a general. No, I can neither be so inhuman to you, nor so unjust to your parent. But, as I shall know no satisfaction in life, if deprived of you, it will animate me to such actions, as shall either raise me to a rank that your father need not be ashamed of my alliance, or shall put an end to a life, which must be miserable without you. The sword, my dear, ennobles, and I don't despair of a commission, as I have some reputation in the army, many friends, and am not destitute of money. I think it more becoming the character of a soldier to gain a commission by his bravery, than to purchase one with money: but my desire to call you mine, will make me, at any rate, endeavour to deserve you, and I will, if possible, purchase a pair of colours.

I have heard, said she, that love and reason are incompatible; this maxim is either false, or you are not the ardent lover you profess yourself. However, I relish your proposal of buying a commission, and if your money falls short, let me know it.

You call, said I, the ardour of my passion in question, because I love you for yourself; I wish to make you, if possible, as happy in our union as I shall be; while most other men have their own satisfaction alone in view, when they address the fair sex. I accept your offer with a grateful sense of the obligation; but hope I need not put you to the proof of your friendship, without some misfortune should deprive me of what I have by me.

Thus I got off from this amour without loss of credit. As I was discharged from my regiment, and loath to break into my capital stock, which would not long maintain me, I entered with lieutenant Keith, in lord John Hayes's regiment of dragoons: for my discharge from my regiment was a favour done me, lest the serjeant, by being an officer, and in favour with his quondam master, might do me some private injury: it was not a discharge from the service.

I went to, and stayed in, my lieutenant's quarters, till the season for action came on; when we were all ordered to the siege of Namur.

The army was now more numerous than it had been any preceding campaign; the major part were encamped at Deinse, and seemed to intend an attack upon the French lines, which were in those quarters; this feint, and the duke of Wirtemberg's assaulting Fort Knoque, drawing most of the French forces on that side, king William, with the greatest expedition, invested Namur, which they had no notion he would sit down before. This motion, however, could not be made with speed enough to prevent marshal Boufflers from throwing himself into the town with seven regiments, which augmented the garrison to about fourteen thousand effective men. This did not deter the king from prosecuting his design, leaving only thirty thousand men under the command of prince Vaudemont, to observe the motion of the French, and cover Flanders. The enemy being well informed of this disposition of the army which was encamped at Woutergen, resolved to attack it in front and flank. The prince making a show of waiting for them, sent his baggage to Ghent, intrenched his camp, placed cannon in all the passes, and taking advantage of the night to prepare for his retreat, made it in the sight of the enemy's army, which advanced to cut him to pieces. The prince had given out such good orders, that all the attacks of the French proved fruitless, and he had the

honour of making a glorious retreat, in spite of the enemy, without sustaining any loss. This retreat of prince Vaudemont is talked of, not only to the present time, but will be admired and looked upon as a master-stroke in ages to come.

He soon after gave a new proof of his martial skill and conduct, in defeating the design which marshal Villeroy had formed of besieging Nieuport; but the marshal revenged himself on Dixmude and Deinse; the governors of which places wanted courage to defend them, which puts me in mind of a proverb, that it is better to have a lion at the head of an army of sheep, than a sheep at the head of an army of lions.

The king opened the trenches before Namur, in two different places, on the 13th of July, 1695, and, without giving himself any pain about the loss of Dixmude and Deinse, he gave so many assaults to the town, one on the neck of another, and in every assault sent such a number of forces, that they seemed rather small armies than detachments.

The town capitulated on the 4th of August, but the French, to save the citadel, bombarded Brussels; the effect this had, was only making the allies redouble their efforts at Namur. Never was a more terrible fire seen; for no less than sixty large battering-pieces, and as many mortars, played incessantly on the outworks, which rose one above another in form of an amphitheatre. Marshal Villeroy, judging very rightly that the citadel could not hold out long, though defended by a marshal of France, and a numerous garrison, and finding his bombarding of Brussels could not draw off the king, resolved to attack him in his lines, to save the castle, if possible: to this end, ordering several days' provision for his troops, he began his march in a continual rain, and passing by Gemblours, encamped at Saunier, stretching his right towards Conroy, and his left on the side of Granlez. Prince Vaudemont, with the army under his command, had left Brussels, before this motion

of the French, to cover the siege; and being joined by some detachments, which had occupied several posts, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg and the earl of Athlone, he extended his forces behind Mehaigne, as far as from St. Denis to Ipigney.

The French finding him so strongly intrenched that it was impracticable to attack him, turned off to the left, and, going up the Mehaigne, took post on the bank of that river, at Grandrosiers, between the villages of Peruwes and Ramillies; which obliged the allies to advance on the other side as far as Ostin to dispute the passage. As Villeroy was under a necessity to pass the river to succour the besieged, he came very near to us to reconnoitre, and attempted several times to pass, but did not succeed. On this he called a council of war, and gave all the officers liberty to speak their sentiments freely on the means necessary to be taken to succour the citadel. They unanimously declared the thing impossible, and that it would be rash to attempt it.

In the interim, the allies detached thirty squadrons, commanded by monsieur de la Forêt, who advanced within pistol-shot of the enemy, to reconnoitre. These were discovered by the French scouts, who fell upon them, and, finding they gave way, suffered themselves to be decoyed into an ambush, where the fight renewing with greater fury, the assailants were driven back towards their camp, after they had lost a hundred and fifty horse. After this skirmish, the marshal seeing no likelihood of passing the Mehaigne, or of succouring the citadel, raised his camp, and took post with his army between Chatelet and Charleroy.

Before this retreat of the marshal, most of the fortifications of Namur were demolished, and the breaches made were large enough for a battalion to mount in front; wherefore orders were given for an assault, which was begun on the 30th of August, after the batteries had played with greater fury than ever, from break of

day to one and a half afternoon. My lord Cuts, with three thousand English, was commanded to assault the new castle. Count Rivera, with two thousand Dutch and a thousand Bavarians, was ordered to attack on the side of Fort Koehoorn, while monsieur la Cave should assault it in front. At the same instant monsieur Schwerin, at the head of two thousand men, was to assault the covered way before the Devil's House; and, to prevent sallies, a colonel, with five hundred men, was posted between the new castle and Fort Koehoorn. The signal being given, those troops marched to the assault with incredible intrepidity. Here our brave English were drawn into a fatal mistake by their courage; for three hundred of them mounted the breach of the new castle with such impetuosity, that they could not be supported; by this ardour we failed in the attack of that work. The other assault proved more successful. We carried all the covered way of the Devil's House, and that of Fort Koehoorn. Here we made our lodgments, which being joined, we were masters of three thousand yards of covered way.

Notwithstanding we lost a thousand men in this assault, and had as many wounded, the king was preparing for a second; but marshal Boufflers, not thinking it expedient to give him the trouble, beat the chamade. Hostages being exchanged, the articles were agreed upon, and the allies took possession, on the evening of the 1st of September, of Fort Koehoorn, some works on that side, and of the breach of the new castle.

On the 5th, the garrison, which still consisted of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight men, marched out at the breach, with drums beating, matches lighted, colours flying, six pieces of cannon and two mortars, through a lane of thirty battalions of our troops.

The king of France having not only refused to ransom the garrisons of Deinse and Dixmude, but even sent them towards the frontiers of Spain; king William by way of reprisal, when marshal Boufflers came out at

the head of the light horse, ordered him to be arrested and carried back into the town; where he was told, that if he would give his word that those garrisons should be released, he was at liberty. Upon his refusal, he was conducted to Maestricht, where he was nobly entertained during the time of his confinement, which was but short; for the king, his master, permitting him to promise that those prisoners should be released, he was set at liberty, and conducted by a detachment of two hundred dragoons to Dinant.

After the taking Namur, I went into winter-quarters at the Boss, where a very odd adventure befel me. I went with two of my comrades to a house of civil recreation, where they made a bargain for, and retired with, such ware as they wanted, and I diverted myself with serenading them on the tongs and key. A lady of civil conversation, who was very big, happened to take a liking to me, and used all the common methods of those virtuous damsels to entice me; but finding they had no effect, she swore she would revenge the slight, which she soon after did, by swearing me the father of her child. Whether this was the effect of her revenge, or her judgment, as I made a better figure than any private dragoon in our regiment, and she thought me the best able to provide for her in her month, and to take care of her bastard, is what I wont take upon me to determine; but I was so surprised and enraged at the impudent perjury, that I was almost tempted to disprove her effectually, and give her up to the law; but, on a mature deliberation, I thought it better to defray the charge, and keep the child, which I did; but it died in a month, and delivered me from that expense, though it left me the reputation of being a father, till my sex was discovered.

As nothing remarkable happened to me from this time, to the signing of the peace, it may not be ungrateful to give some memoirs of what passed in the

interim in Flanders, where I continued in the same regiment till the army was disbanded.

King William arrived in Holland on the 17th of May, 1696, with design to open the campaign in the Low Countries. The army being thus disposed, a part of the Dutch troops were drawn together near Tirlemont, under the command of prince Nassau-Sarbruck, field-marshal of the States, who, conjointly with the elector of Bavaria, was to observe the French forces encamped at Fleuris. The other part of the Dutch army, under the command of prince Vaudemont, was posted at Destelberg, near Ghent, to oppose marshal Villeroy, who, with part of the French army, had encamped at Deinse. The king joined the prince of Vaudemont's army in the beginning of June, and having taken a general review on the 7th, he ordered several forts to be raised on the ways to Marikerque and Nieuport, to cover the canal on that side. In the mean while, the troops of Liege and Brandenburg being arrived at the camp of Tirlemont, this body of the army marched on the side of Brussels, stretching the right as far as Limale, and the left to Otterburg. King William, joined with some troops, after having encamped on the plain of Corbais from the 18th of June to the 7th of July, marched directly towards Noirmont and Gemblours. All these motions were both to observe the French, and to have the conveniences, for a considerable part of the campaign, to subsist the army from Brussels.

All this while marshal Villeroy remained quiet in his camp, near Deinse, between the Scheld and the Lys; and, having extended his left along this small river, and his right towards Cruyshouten, within two leagues and a half of Oudenard, he secured the forage, and maintained a considerable part of his troops at the expense of the enemy: so that king William finding nothing could be done, he sent back

the German troops commanded by the landgrave of Hesse, went to Mecklin, and from thence to Loo.

The king of France, whose subjects were miserably harassed, had some time before made propositions of peace to the allies, of whom the duke of Savoy was considerably the least powerful, yet having so great a support, he was the most formidable, because the French provinces bordering on his country, having no strong towns, were exposed to an invasion. This made Lewis of opinion, that he ought, at any price, to clap up a peace with this prince; wherefore, he covertly offered to give him Pignerol; restore all the conquests he had made upon him in the course of the war, and, to strengthen their union, to marry his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, to Mary Adelaide, the duke of Savoy's daughter. These offers were so very advantageous, that they staggered the duke; however, the reproachful shame which must necessarily have been the consequence of his breaking through solemn engagements, by which he had obtained immense sums from the States-general, and other allies, made him, for some time, hold out against the temptation: but France, always productive of expedients, soon furnished him with a plausible pretence. She acted on the defensive only in Catalonia, Germany, and the Low Countries, that she might turn the greater part of her forces upon Savoy. On the 15th of May, N. S., this same year, marshal de Catinat entered Piedmont, and pushing forward into the country, came to Rivalta on the 2nd of June. This place is but two leagues' distance from Turin. The duke, upon his approach, cut down the trees, armed all the peasants, and drew the auxiliary troops out of his garrisons, as if he had designed to oppose the enemy. Notwithstanding all these preparations for a vigorous defence, no hostilities were committed on either side. At length, the proclaiming a suspension of arms for thirty days discovered the mystery of this inactivity,

which caused the surprise of every one of the allies. This truce was twice renewed, and at length attended by a treaty of peace, proclaimed in Paris on the 10th of September. At the same time that Lewis XIV. was carrying on his intrigue with Savoy, he made advantageous offers to king William and the States; to which the latter began to listen. In a word, a congress was opened on the 9th of May, 1697, N. S., at Ryswick.

Notwithstanding the conferences for the pacification of Europe were carried on in Holland, there was no suspension of arms; for, on the 16th of May, the French besieged Ath, a town in Hainault. King William being arrived from England, immediately went to the army of the allies; we were no less than a hundred thousand effective men, whom he headed, and marched to St. Quentin Lennich, where a body of eleven thousand Germans were ordered to join us, to save Ath, if possible: but the besiegers were so well intrenched, and covered by two armies under the command of Boufflers and Villars, that we could not force them without visible danger, and exposing Brussels to a second bombardment.

These obstacles obliging king William to withdraw with a part of the army to Gemblours, and the elector of Bavaria, with the other to Deinse, Ath surrendered on the 1st of June, N. S.

The conferences at Ryswick ended in peace, which was signed by the deputies of the States in conjunction with king William, and by the French plenipotentiaries, on the 20th of September. The king of England ratified this peace on the 25th. It was proclaimed in Paris the 23rd of October, and in London on the 28th, O. S.

The king of England having reviewed the army on the plain of Breda, we were disbanded, and I set out for the Brill, took my passage on board a ship bound for, and arrived safe in Dublin. On inquiry, I found

my mother, children, and friends, wanted neither health, nor the necessaries of life. I found means to converse with them; but I was so much altered by my dress, and the fatigues I had undergone, that not one of them knew me, which I was not sorry for. The demand the nurse had upon me, on account of my youngest child, being greater than suited with my circumstances to discharge, I resolved to remain incog.

I was not long easy in this indolent way of life, which must soon have drained my purse, wherefore I sought for employment, and found means to support myself, while in Dublin, without breaking into my capital, (which I had hitherto husbanded with great economy,) till the death of the king of Spain, on the 31st of October, 1700; his having in his will declared, through the intrigues of cardinal Portocarrero, the duke of Anjou his successor; and his immediately taking possession of those kingdoms, alarmed all the powers of Europe; and the king of France having acknowledged the prince of Wales, king of England, on the death of his father, which happened at St. Germains on the 16th of September, N. S., 1701, grossly affronting king William, seemed to be the harbingers of a new war, as indeed they proved; for it could not be supposed that the emperor would tamely cede his right.

Hostilities were begun in Italy; which prince Eugene entered in May, 1701, at the head of twenty thousand men; beat the French and Savoyards, who guarded the passage of the Adige, from their posts, and passed the river.

Though none of the powers had declared war, the Hollanders drew together their troops near Rosendaal, under the command of the earl of Athlone; and the imperialists, commanded by prince Nassau Sarbruch, generalissimo of the emperor, re-enforced by some Dutch troops, besieged Keisersweert.

This news of a war awakened my martial inclination.

I was not long considering what party to take; but immediately took shipping for Holland, and finding my quondam lieutenant Keith, I enlisted with him in my old corps, the regiment of dragoons, under the command of lord John Hayes.

The first action I was in, was that of Nimeguen, where we were very roughly handled by the French. As this, which deserves rather to be called a battle than an action, would have ruined all the schemes of the allies, had we lost it, I shall give the best account of it I am capable; to do which, I must return to the siege of Keisersweert.

This town, which was very strongly fortified, the Germans invested on the 16th of April, 1702, N. S. The Prussians took post above, and the Dutch below the town, and each of these troops on their respective sides broke ground on the 18th. At the first advice which was given marshal Boufflers of this siege, he passed the Maes, near Stevensweert, with design to surprise a body of Dutch troops under the command of count Tilly: but that general being informed of the march of the French, sent all his heavy baggage to Emerick, went to, and encamped at Ebber, within a league of Cleves, where the earl of Athlone joined him with the rest of the army belonging to the States-general; so that monsieur Bouffler's design proved abortive. The count de Tallard proved more successful in his, which he entered upon a few days after. He took post over against Keisersweert, on the banks of the Rhine; and thus, not only kept open a communication with the town by water, but galled the besiegers so much with his cannon, that they were obliged to quit their works, contract their quarters, and begin new attacks, out of the reach of his cannon. During this siege, the duke of Burgundy arrived at the French army, to take upon him the command in chief.

Soon after the arrival of this prince, marshal Boufflers, concluding that the town could not hold out long,

resolved to make a diversion to save it. This was to surprise Nimeguen. After having lain some few days quiet in his camp, to give the count de Tallard, and other forces, time to join him, he decamped from Santin, the 10th of June, and marched immediately to Keverdonk; from whence he marched between Goch and Gennep, designing to continue his route between Mook and Nimeguen, and to fall upon the earl of Athlone, who was encamped at Clarenbeek, in hopes the confusion that would attend such an unexpected attack, would afford a fair opportunity to surprise Nimeguen. But the earl having had information of his march, sent away, with all speed, his artillery and heavy baggage, and detached the duke of Wirtemberg with some troops to take possession of the higher grounds and passes in the neighbourhood of Mook, while he followed with the rest of the army. In coming to the post which he was to defend, the duke discovered the vanguard of the enemy. He diverted them by a retreating fight, till the earl of Athlone came up to sustain him with the rest of the Dutch army: notwithstanding which, the two enemy armies, in continually skirmishing, made towards Nimeguen; and the French mixing with the Dutch, some of them got, with the latter, into a few of the outworks, and hoped, in the confusion, to push into the town. Everything seemed to favour their design; for there were no cannon planted on the ramparts; the magazines were locked up, the keys were not to be found, and those who had the care of them, were absent. I remember it was upon a Sunday, and in sermon time. The burghers taking the alarm, took to their arms, broke open the magazines, and drew out the cannon, which they mounted and played upon the French. The fire between the two armies, which advanced with equal pace towards the town, was all this while very hot. The French having placed some cannon on a rising ground, made terrible havoc among the Dutch horse, and seized on one of the fortifications

called Kykindeport; but a detachment of the Dutch guards, favoured by eight pieces of cannon, which the burghers fired upon the French, soon dislodged them.

Marshal Boufflers, who did not expect so stout a defence, finding his project fail, retreated about two o'clock in the afternoon.

In the interim, the siege of Keisersweert, was vigorously and successfully pushed on; and the governor, after having bravely defended the town thirty days, on the 15th of June capitulated. The garrison was conducted to Venlo with all marks of honour.

That I might not break in upon the account of this battle, and the siege of Keisersweert, I made no mention of myself, and of a particular event. About the middle of the siege, a party of horse and dragoons were detached from the army, under the command of major-general Dompre: I was in the detachment. We fell in with a superior number of the French cavalry, and put them to the run, with a considerable loss on their, and very little on our, side. I had here the good fortune, though in the thickest of the engagement, to escape without hurt, and to be taken notice of by the officers.

Soon after the surrender of Keisersweert, the Prussian troops joined the grand army, and the earl of Marlborough, about the same time, arrived with those sent by the queen of England.

After several motions, in which we could never draw the French to a battle, a detachment invested the town and citadel of Venlo, on the 29th of August, in the night. The horse being not employed in, we covered the siege, and were sometimes sent out to forage. The poor peasants fled before us, and leaving their implements of husbandry in the field, my horse trod on a scythe, and was cut in so dangerous a manner, that I despaired of his recovery; though he at length was again fit for service.

Six days after the trenches had been opened before

this town, we assaulted the citadel, and with such success, that, after we had carried the covered way, we took it; which obliged the town to capitulate on the 23rd of September.

Stevensweert and Ruremonde were next invested and bombarbed, one after another. The former of these bore our fire but two days, the latter three.

The taking all these places, clearing the Maes of the French garrisons as far as Maestricht, their army retired within their lines, and the allies, on the 14th of October, 1702, appeared before Liege. At our approach the French withdrew into the castles; the deputies of the chapter, and of the magistracy, on the same day agreed on a capitulation with the earl of Marlborough, and the commissioners of the States-general, for the principality of Liege. In the interim, preparations were made to attack the two forts which commanded the town. Three days together we battered the citadel, and the breach being thought sufficient, we assaulted it the 23rd in the afternoon. We soon carried the half-moon, and finding less resistance than we expected, we cleared the palisades, mounted the breach sword in hand, and made a cruel slaughter. The English, in particular, distinguished themselves in this assault; for they mounted at a place called the Six-cent-pas, the six hundred steps, for so many there are, and steeper than any pair of stairs I ever saw in my life.

We found in the place above thirty pieces of cannon, and beside twenty thousand florins in silver, a very considerable booty; for the citizens had carried thither their most valuable effects for security. I got but little of the plunder; for the grenadiers, who were in the place, before our dragoons had dismounted, and left their horses to the care of every tenth man, which we do when we fight on foot, were very industrious in their search. I got, however, a large silver chalice, and some other pieces of plate, which I after-

wards sold to a Dutch jew for a third part of their value.

As the citadel was taken by assault, few of the garrison escaped with life, and not one of those who did carried off with them rags enough for a cut finger.

We, after this, attacked the fort of the Carthusians on the other side the Maese. Our batteries began to play the 29th, with great fury; the garrison, terrified by the example made of that citadel, and fearing an assault, in less than three hours asked to capitulate. Articles were that day agreed upon, and the French marched out the next.

The taking of these places proved a great refreshment to the army, for we found a great quantity of good wine, and excellent bread.

Thus ended our first campaign in Flanders; the success of which did not a little raise the hopes of the allies.

I forgot to take notice of the declaration of war; for though hostilities were begun before any was made, yet they were carried on but a little while; for the emperor declared war the 15th of May, 1702, N. S., as did the English queen and the Dutch on the same day.

In Italy, prince Eugene, in October this year, surprised Cremona, got into the town through an aqueduct, and had kept possession had not the courage of my countrymen, so much despised in England, driven out the Germans; who, however, carried off prisoners marshal Villeroy, monsieurs de Mongon, d'Egrigney, and some other persons of distinction. The honour of taking the marshal fell also to an Irishman, captain of horse in the imperial service.

I was ordered into quarters at Venlo, and a night or two afterwards, was one of those commanded by the governor to escort the earl of Marlborough along the banks of the Maese, the troops which brought him from Ruremond having been dismissed. During our

march, by the darkness of the night, we mistook, and going up the country, fell in with a hogsty, where was a sow with five pigs, one of which I made bold with. I was possessed of it some time, when one Taylor, a corporal, belonging to brigadier Panton's regiment of horse, attempted to spoil me of my booty; on which some words arising, he drew, and made a stroke at my head, which I warding with my hand, had the sinew of my little finger cut in two; at the same time, with the butt end of my pistol, I struck out one of his eyes. When we returned to our quarters, I got the sinew sewed up. In the interim, our general was taken prisoner by a party of thirty-five soldiers; but got off by means of a sham pass. The next day we heard of this accident, but not of his having escaped. The garrison, as the earl was entirely beloved by all the forces, was greatly alarmed, and the governor of Venlo, placing himself at our head, marched straight to Guelders, to which place he imagined the earl had been conducted, threatening to come to the utmost extremities if he was not delivered up. In the mean while, he received certain advice of our general being in safety; on which we marched back to our quarters, without attempting any action, and soon after had the joyful news of the queen having rewarded his virtues with the titles of marquis of Blandford and duke of Marlborough; on which the rejoicings customary were made, and we were regaled at our bonfires with good liquor.

As we lay quiet all the winter, my husband, whom the hurry of the war had in a manner banished, occured to my memory, and I made what inquiry I could after him, but in vain; wherefore, I endeavoured, as I concluded him for ever lost, to forget him, as the melancholy the remembrance of him brought upon me, profited him nothing, while it consumed me. To do this, I had recourse to wine and company, which had

the effect I wished, and I spent the season pretty cheerfully.

The duke of Marlborough parted from London in March, 1703, N. S., to put himself at the head of the army, and open the campaign. He stayed some little time at the Hague, to be present at, and give his advice in the conferences then held; after which he took upon him the command, and invested Bonn on the 24th of April. This town was the residence of the elector of Cologne, who had received into it a French garrison, for which reason we ravaged the countries of Berg, Cologne, and Cleves, and wasted them with pillaging and contribution.

We opened the trenches before Bonn, and the fort on the other side of the Rhine, the 3rd of May, in the night. Our fire was so brisk, and we pushed on our attacks with so much fury, that the garrison in the fort set fire to their barracks, blew up their magazines, and got into the town sheltered by the smoke. On the 12th, the breach was large enough for a regiment to mount at a time: we carried the covered way, made a lodgment on the palisades, and everything was ready for a general assault; when monsieur d'Alegre hung out a white ensign. The capitulation was signed that night, and four days after the garrison marched out through the breach, with only six pieces of cannon, and were conducted the shortest way to Luxemburg.

The duke having provided for the security of this place, the greatest part of the troops employed against it marched towards Brabant to join the grand army, which field-marshal Auverquerque had drawn together at Maestricht, and which observed the motions of marshal Boufflers and Villeroy. After this junction, the allies marched towards the lines the French had thrown up from the Scheld to the Maes, near Namur, to cover Brabant.

On the other hand, baron Spar and monsieur Coehorn, with a part of the army, put great part of Flanders under contribution. The grand army was designed to attack the French lines in Brabant, and in case of succeeding, to, afterwards, besiege Antwerp; and to this end, baron Obdam had taken post at Ekeren, pretty near that city, with thirteen battalions and twenty-six squadrons. The grand army was marched to encamp before the lines, between Courselle and Beringhen.

The distance between the two armies, and the feebleness of that commanded by the baron, made Boufflers resolve on surrounding him; and accordingly, having placed troops in all the passes through which the Dutch must necessarily retreat, with fifty-three battalions, seventy companies of grenadiers, and fifty-two squadrons drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, on the 29th of June, in the night, he began his march, which was so secret and expeditious, that the baron, though he had information of the enemy being in motion, had not time to send off his heavy baggage to Bergopsoom; and when he thought of retreating, he found himself enveloped by the enemy, who attacked him so briskly, that his men were driven from the posts they had taken. The baron, being gone some distance from the gross of his troops, to give orders, had the misfortune to have his return cut off, and was obliged to fly to Breda. The fight, which began at three in the afternoon, grew hotter and hotter; the Dutch taking courage from their despair, being entirely surrounded, and the French being irritated at so obstinate a resistance, when, on account of their great superiority, they flattered themselves with an easy victory. The battle lasted till night, when the Dutch foot beginning to want powder and ball, with their bayonets fixed, attacked and carried the village of Otteren; took one piece of cannon, two kettle-drums, seven colours, with two standards, and passing the

night in this village, they retreated in good order to Lillo.

The battle of Ekeren was very bloody; but the Dutch troops gained more honour in it than their general, who if he did not want courage, could lay no claim to conduct.

It was now resolved, in a grand council of war, since we could not bring the enemy to a battle, which had been often, in vain, offered them, to draw together all the troops dispersed in different posts, and besiege Huy; it being thought too hazardous to attack them in their lines, where they had sheltered themselves.

When our army drew near to Huy, the garrison withdrew into the castle, and we took possession of the town. Before I proceed, I must take notice of one action, which had liked to have slipped my memory. Monsieur de Villeroy, some little time before we opened the trenches before the town, spread it abroad that he would give us battle; upon which our army drew up, but he not liking our countenances, altered his mind, if before he was in earnest, and retired into his lines. Our lieutenant, with thirty of our dragoons, fell in with a party of forty horse of the enemy, but they took to flight at the first fire, and we pursued them to the barriers of their intrenchments; and being there ordered to stand our ground, we maintained it, in the midst of many smart fires, till we had taken a view of the enemy's situation, which was the errand our regiment and some others were sent upon.

The baron de Trogné opened the trenches before Fort St. Joseph on the 17th of August, N. S., and, the next day, ground was broke before Fort Picard. They surrendered on the 27th, and count Sinzendorff taking possession of the place for the emperor, we prepared for another siege. Monsieur de Bulau, lieutenant-general of the Hanoverian troops, was, on the 8th of September, detached with twenty-four squadrons to invest Limbourg, and the rest of the troops designed

for this siege having joined him, they immediately carried part of the suburbs, and on the 21st took the lower town. As the garrison was pretty much straitened, in what was still in their possession, five battalions were left to blockade and starve them to a surrender; but, tired with this tedious method, on the 26th the besiegers began to batter the place with forty-two pieces of cannon from four batteries, and with twenty mortars. The fire continued very vigorous till about the next day at noon, when the governor seeing great part of the rampart demolished, beat the cha-made, and surrendered prisoners of war. However, all the officers were handsomely treated, and nothing taken from them, or even their soldiers, arms excepted.

The grand army did nothing more this campaign, than observe the enemy, to favour the Brandenburghers, who were sate down before Gueldre, which they took, after an obstinate defence, having been battered, after a blockade of the whole summer, with fifty-one pieces of cannon, twenty culverins, and twenty mortars, which reduced the town to a heap of rubbish, from the 7th of October to the 17th of December.

The emperor having made cession of his right to the Spanish monarchy, to his elder son the king of the Romans, and he again to the archduke his brother, who was set out to take possession of Spain, the duke of Marlborough left the army, and set out for the elector Palatine's court, to meet and compliment the new king, Charles III., in the name of our queen.

The success attending the arms of the French and the elector of Bavaria in Germany, alarming England and Holland, they resolved to seek them, even in the heart of Germany. To this end, their forces, about the end of April, 1704, were assembled upon the Maes, between Venlo and Maestricht, where we were joined, in the beginning of May, by the duke of Marlborough and field-marshal Auverquerque. After a council of war had been held, the army was divided into two

corps, one of which, strong enough to make head against the French in the Low Countries, was left under the command of monsieur Auverquerque, and the other, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, passing the Rhine, the Main, and the Nekre, by long and tiresome marches, which greatly harassed our foot, made for the Danube. I cannot help taking notice in this place, though it breaks in upon my narrative, of the duke of Marlborough's great humanity, who seeing some of our foot drop, through the fatigue of the march, took them into his own coach.

The French, following the example of the allies, drew twenty thousand men out of the Low Countries, who began their march the 18th of May, and passed by Luxemburg to re-enforce the elector of Bavaria in Germany, under the command of Villeroy. But, before he came to the end of his march, the duke of Marlborough had joined the prince of Baden at Lutshausen, which obliged the elector to withdraw to Dilling, a very advantageous post, and strongly fortified, leaving eighteen of his regiments, and eight squadrons, with the count of Arco, who posted himself on the hill of Schellenberg by Donawert, in intrenchments in a manner inaccessible, that he might cover Bavaria. The resolution was, notwithstanding, taken to attack him, and to open a passage, by forcing his post, to the very heart of the electorate.

We decamped the 2nd of July from Onderingen, and advanced to Ubermargen, within a league of Donawert; but our vanguard did not come in sight of the enemy's intrenchments till the afternoon: however, not to give the Bavarians time to make themselves yet stronger, the duke ordered the Dutch general Goor, who commanded the right wing, composed of English and Dutch, with some auxiliary troops, to attack, as soon possible: thus we did not stay for the coming up of the imperialists. We began about six o'clock, and were twice repulsed, with very great loss; but this did

not abate anything of our courage; our men, rather animated by this resistance, gave a third assault, at the time the prince of Baden arrived with the German troops of the right wing, who attacked on his side. The slaughter, which was very great, had lasted above an hour, when the duke of Wirtemberg had the good fortune, with seven squadrons, to enter the enemy's trenches, by the covered way of Donawert, and fell upon their rear. The Bavarians were now soon routed, and a cruel slaughter made of them, and the bridge over the Danube breaking down, a great number were drowned, or taken prisoners. In the second attack, I received a ball in my hip, which is so lodged between the bones that it can never be extracted; to this day the wound is open, and has almost deprived me of the use of my leg and thigh. Captain Young, who, poor gentleman, was soon after killed, desired me to get off; but, upon my refusal, he ordered two of my comrades to take me up, and they set me at the foot of a tree, where I endeavoured to animate my brother soldiers, till I had the pleasure of seeing them get into the trenches and beat down their enemies; though it was a dear-bought victory, as they disputed every inch of ground, and showed an uncommon bravery. We lost, of my acquaintance, captain Young, captain Douglass, and lieutenant Maltary, besides a number of private men.

I was carried to the hospital near Schellenberg, and put under the care of three surgeons, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Laurence, and Mr. Sea, and narrowly escaped being discovered. Here, while I was under cure, I received my share of what plunder was made, which the duke's justice ordered to be impartially distributed among his brave fellow-soldiers. Beside the arms the fugitives threw away, the allies took sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen standards and colours, all the tents, the baggage and plate of the count of Arco. This general, when he found his intrenchments entered by the allies,

withdrew to Donawert; but the inhabitants not opening the gates soon enough, he was forced to throw himself into the Danube, and had the good fortune to get safe to Augsburg. When the gates of Donawert were set open, those who kept the intrenchments on the side of the town, crowded into it, and at first made a show of defending it; but that evening, having received orders from the elector to burn the town and provisions, to blow up the ammunition, break down the bridges, and retreat to Augsburg, they clapped straw into the houses, to which they began to set fire; but had not time to perfect their design, for fear of their retreat being cut off, the allies being got into the suburbs, and laying bridges over the river, which compelled them to withdraw at four o'clock in the morning, and gave the burghers an opportunity to save the town. The allies entered it, and therein found three pieces of cannon, twelve pontons of copper, twenty thousand weight of powder, three thousand sacks of flour, quantities of oats, and other provisions. These were the fruits of our victory, which, however, we purchased by the loss of three thousand brave fellows killed and wounded, and, among several other general officers of distinction, general Goor received a musket-ball in his eye, and instantly expired in the arms of monsieur Mortaigne, who ran to his assistance. The duke of Luneburg Bevern was mortally wounded, and died before the fight was over.

The allies having garrisoned Donawert, made themselves masters of Rain, by composition, and carried the little town of Aicha sword in hand, where they put five hundred of the garrison to death, and took the rest prisoners. They had now nothing to prevent their piercing to the centre of Bavaria, where they were so greatly alarmed, that the inhabitants of Lechausen, Strottlingen, and Friedbergen, hearing of the defeat at Schellenberg, quitted their houses, and even the electress of Bavaria did not think herself in safety at Mu-

nich, though she had eight thousand men of regular troops; but desired the archbishop of Saltzburg to give her shelter. Her fear was not groundless; for, after the taking Rain and Aicha, the allies sent parties on every hand to ravage the country, who pillaged above fifty villages, burnt the houses of peasants and gentlemen, and forced the inhabitants, with what few cattle had escaped the insatiable enemy, to seek refuge in the woods.

The elector, who, after the defeat of his troops near Donawert, expected to see his country laid waste, held a council of war in the open field, composed of his generals and most experienced officers; wherein it was resolved immediately to abandon the camp of Lauingen, though very advantageous, and extremely well fortified, and to reinforce the army as much as possible.

In consequence of this resolution, they drew out the Bavarian garrisons of Hochstat, Dillingen, Lauingen, Neuburg, and of several little towns; after which, their army encamped under the walls of Augsburg, whither they had before sent immense sums under a strong escort, raised by the plunder and contributions of the preceding year. The elector lodged in the convent of St. Uliu, and compelling the burghers to work day and night on the intrenchments of his camp, he surrounded it with a ditch fifty feet wide, and proportionably deep, that he might, in greater security, wait the succours marshal Tallard was leading to him.

The event proved, that the elector was in the right to depend on succour from France; for the two marshals, Villeroy and Tallard, ordered their march so as to arrive at Augsburg in the beginning of August. The prince Eugene, of Savoy, who had hitherto watched them, now joined the grand army, part of which formed the siege of Ingolstadt, under the command of the prince of Baden. The enemy were, by this siege, drawn out of their intrenchments, and having posted themselves

at Hochstat, the allies resolved to decamp from Erlinkhoven, and go thither to attack them, though their right was protected by the Danube, and their left by the wood of Lutzingen, and their fronts by two rivulets and a morass, which entirely sheltered them.

At six o'clock in the morning, on the 13th of August 1704, we came in sight of the enemy, and, about eleven, were drawn up in order of battle; we then threw five bridges, made of fascines and tin pontons, over the rivulet before the faces of the enemy, posted behind it, and at two, the signal was given to attack.

Every one has read an account of this battle, which was as memorable as that of Crecy, or Agencourt; wherefore it is needless for me to trouble my readers with a detail of it. I shall only take notice of one thing, in honour to that great and glorious English captain, the duke of Marlborough, which is, that after part of the horse of the left wing of our army had passed with a good deal of difficulty, the rivulet, the rest endeavouring also to pass it, were twice repulsed, which the duke seeing, led them on himself for the third time, and making the enemy give ground, their main battle was defeated, and their right, which opposed the duke, and was of French troops, was driven to the banks of the Danube, and separated from the rest of the army; while the Bavarians twice repulsed our right wing, where prince Eugene commanded, and had driven him a hundred and fifty feet beyond his first post, which made the duke, who had now his hands at liberty, send a detachment to attack the enemy in the rear, and assist the prince; but before these orders could be put in execution, he had made a fourth attack upon, and put to flight, the Bavarians in the right wing.

After the loss of this battle, the elector of Bavaria drew his garrison out of Augsburg, and the magistrates immediately sent advice of it to the prince and duke, requiring their protection, which was readily granted.

After the victory of Hochstat, the allies did not think proper to push on the siege of Ingolstadt; wherefore, leaving some forces to keep it invested, the rest marched to reinforce the grand army, commanded by prince Eugene. The English and Dutch, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, on the 22nd of August, N. S., appeared before Ulm, where the enemies, in their flight, had left a strong garrison under the command of general Bettendorf, both to favour their retreat, and to cut out some work for the allies in those parts. The day of our arrival before this town, the duke ordered the governor to be summoned; who answering, that he would defend the town to the last extremity, a council of war was held, and, according to the resolutions therein taken, the army divided; prince Eugene and the duke marched with the major part, by different routes, towards the Rhine, and the rest, which were imperial troops, continued in Suabia, under the command of general Thungen, to take in Ulm, and other towns in the possession of the enemy, and to entirely subdue the whole country; which he did.

After the reduction of Ulm, which capitulated as soon as the batteries of the besieged were ready, notwithstanding the resolute answer sent to the duke's summons, the baron de Thungen joined the grand army under the duke of Marlborough, which covered the siege of Landau, invested the 13th of September. The king of the Romans, desirous to be at the siege, set out eleven days before from Vienna, of which, advice being come, prince Eugene and the duke set out to receive him between Philipsburg and Landau, and conducted him through the army, under arms, to his quarters at Ilbesheim.

This town, and all others in which the elector had garrisons, were evacuated by treaty; he himself entirely stripped of his country; his electrice and children made prisoners; his subjects disarmed, and

obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor; five thousand men garrisoned in his metropolis, and the estates of such of his subjects as had followed his fortunes, were confiscated. In a word, Bavaria was treated as a conquered country, and the count Leuwenstein-Worthem was made governor of it.

I have already said, we miserably plundered the poor inhabitants of this electorate; I had left the hospital time enough to contribute to their misery, and to have a share in the plunder. We spared nothing, killing, burning, or otherwise destroying whatever we could carry off. The bells of the churches we broke to pieces, that we might bring them away with us. I filled two bed-ticks, after having thrown out the feathers, with bell-metal, men's and women's clothes, some velvets, and about a hundred Dutch caps, which I had plundered from a shop; all which I sold by the lump to a Jew, who followed the army to purchase our pillage, for four pistoles; beside the above things, as I was not idle, I got several pieces of plate, as spoons, mugs, cups, &c., all which the same conscionable merchant had at his own price.

I might have mentioned this more properly before, but I did not think what regarded me in particular, of consequence enough to break the thread of my narration: and the same reason prevails on me to go back to the siege of Landau, under the command of the king of the Romans, which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered on the 22nd of November. It was invested, as I have already said, the 13th of September.

I now come to my own history. After the battle of Hochstat, in which I received no hurt, though often in the hottest of the fire, I was one of those detached to guard the prisoners; and surely, of all I ever saw, none were more miserable; some having no shirts, some without shoes or stockings, and others naked as from the womb. In this wretched condition we marched them to the plain of Breda, where we halted,

to refresh; each man, prisoners and all, being allowed a pint of beer and a pennyworth of bread and cheese. During our halt here, I was amused with two very different scenes by the women, some of which bewailed the loss of their husbands, or lovers, who fell in the two memorable battles of Schellenberg and Hochstat; and others congratulating and caressing their spouses and sweethearts who had escaped the danger. Among the latter, I observed a woman, with a visible joy in her face, make up to a man, whom, by his side face, I fancied I had known; I drew near to the palisades where my horse was tied, and looking through at the instant he turned to embrace her, had a full view of, and perfectly knew him, to my unspeakable grief, to be my perfidious husband, on whose account I had experienced so much fatigue, such misery, and had so often hazarded my life. The seeing him caress the Dutch woman, for such she appeared to be, and really was, raised in me so great an indignation, that I was resolved to banish every tender thought which might plead in his favour, and wipe the idea of him out of my memory. Thus resolved, I turned my back upon them, and had no sooner done it, but I began to think his infidelity rather a misfortune to me than a fault in him, as he had never received any news, or answer to his letters, of which he mentioned twelve in the only one I received. I was so divided between rage and love, resentment and compassion, that the agitation of my mind had such a visible effect on my body, and was so plainly discernible in my countenance, that my comrade asked me what it was that troubled me, that I changed colour, and trembled as I did, all over me. I had a pot of beer in my hand, and had not power to utter more than, Take the beer, I can hold it no longer. After some little time, I recovered my spirits, and answered, that I saw my brother, Richard Welsh (I had often declared I had such a brother in the army, of whom I could hear no news) standing in the fore-

most rank of lord Orkney's regiment of foot, and that I had not seen him of twelve years before; this sudden and unexpected sight of a lost brother, occasioned the disorder in me he had remarked. I then pointed him out, and begged my comrade to step and ask him if his name was not Richard Welsh, and when he had heard from his wife and children. He readily complied with my request, and, as I could not take my eye off him, I saw my comrade accost him, and immediately return with this amswer, that as he was the first man upon command, I might speak to him at the main guard: hardly had he delivered these few words, when the drums and trumpets gave us notice to march for Breda, from whence we were distant about a league, though it appeared to me ten times as long, so uneasy was I, and anxious to speak to him, and hear what he could say in his vindication.

On our arrival at Breda, we were obliged to house our prisoners, whose number was so great, that it compelled us to the making prisons of workhouses, and even of those of private people. After my duty was performed, I went in search of my husband to the main guard, where I learned that he was at a public house behind it. I immediately followed him thither, and passing through the outward room to the kitchen, saw him there, drinking with the Dutch woman. I took no notice of him, but going up to the landlady, desired to be shown a private room; she accordingly went before me into one backwards, and bringing me a pint of beer which I called for, left me to my own melancholy thoughts. I sat me down, laid my elbow on the table, and leaning my head on my hand, I began to reflect on my former happy situation after the death of my aunt, and of the misfortunes which had attended my love for a man who no longer thought of me, though obliged by the strongest ties of gratitude. But, said I, Have I done more than my duty? Is he not my husband? Nay, did he not, till an unforeseen

misfortune tore him from me, treat me with the greatest tenderness? Had I once reason to complain of his want of love or gratitude? But why is he thus changed? Here his fondness which I had observed for the Dutch woman, gave vent to my tears, which flowing in abundance, was some relief to me. I could not stop this flood; it continued a good quarter of an hour; at length it ceased, and, drinking a little of the hougarde, which is a white beer, in colour like whey, I washed my eyes and face with the rest, to conceal my having wept. I did all I could to compose myself, and, calling my landlady, I desired she would bring another pint, and acquaint the young man of Orkney's regiment, drinking in her kitchen, that I desired to speak to him. She delivered my message, and he came in with her. I sat with my back to the light, that he might not see my face plain enough to discover me before I had sounded what interest I retained in his heart. I saluted him by his name, which he civilly returned, and added, that I had the advantage, for he found I knew him, though I appeared a stranger. Yes, sir, replied I, you are not unknown to me. Pray when did you hear from your wife and children? Sir, said he, I have heard no news of them these twelve years, though I have written no less than a dozen letters to her, which I am apt to believe have miscarried. I answered, that I believe he did not think that a misfortune to lay to heart, since a number of pretty girls here, who were all tender-hearted to the gentlemen of the sword, would easily compensate the absence of, and prevent any concern for a wife; you, doubtless, find it so. Sir, replied he, you take me for a villain, and you lie; I do not find it so.—Not a man in the army would have given me the lie with impunity; but I must own, receiving it from him on such an account, was a greater pleasure to me than if I had been complimented at the head of all our troops by the duke of Marlborough. A sudden tremor seized me, which he, who had his

hand on his sword, taking notice of, and viewing me more intently, discovered that I was his wife. Oh heavens! cried he, Is this possible? Is it not delusion? Do I really see my dear Christian? May I believe my eyes? He ran to me, clasped me in his arms, kissed me in raptures, and bedewed my cheeks with tears of joy. As soon as I could disengage myself, I replied, Yes, Richard, 'tis I, who have been so many years in search of an ungrateful, perjured husband; for, whatever your sex may think of a marriage vow, or properly, though you never think of it at all, the breach of it leaves the foul stain of perjury. What a comfortable reward have I met with for abandoning peace and plenty, could I have known peace without you! for leaving my poor babes, my aged mother, my friends, my relations, and country, to expose myself to the hardships, fatigues, and dangers of a soldier's life, in search of a husband whom I have, at length, found in the arms of another woman! How have I deserved this treatment? What fault of mine, if not my over fondness, could make you cruelly desert me and your children, and rather desperately take up with a life of incessant toil and penury, than continue longer with a wife whom you drove to the utmost despair, by the reasonable belief of your being murdered? as it was impossible for me to think you could make me so barbarous and ungrateful a return for my tenderness. My dear Christian, said he, Do not imbitter the joy I feel in thus meeting with you, by such cruel and undeserved reproaches. Had you received any of my letters, you must have learned my misfortune, not my fault, caused our unhappy separation; for, in every one of them, I gave you a true account. I wish, said I, interrupting him, I had not received that which you said was your twelfth; for my tenderness would not let me believe you capable of a falsity, as I now am convinced you are; it was the fatal receipt of that letter which ruined my peace, by going in search of

it. Yes, that letter made me resolve to undergo all dangers, rather than not find you out; had it not come to hand, I might have been still undeceived in the belief of your death; time would have mitigated my grief, and forgetting you, as I am a witness you did me, I might have continued at this time in easy and happy circumstances, have enjoyed the comfort of my friends and relations, and have done my duty to my children, in taking care of their education and settlement, instead of being harassed with fatigues of war, and my poor infants exposed to the hazard of being brought up vagabonds. I have at length found you, but so altered from the just and endearing husband you once were, that I had rather have had assurance of your death, than see you thus survive your affections, which I once was fool enough to believe nothing could take from me.

Believe me, said he, my dear Christian, they are still as warm towards you as ever; pardon my faults, which I acknowledge, and make a just distinction between the tender, friendly love for a wife, and the slight, trifling complaisance for such creatures, as may prove our amusement, but can never gain our esteem; and where that is wanting, you are satisfied, however it may be counterfeited, there can be no warm affection.

How know I that woman is not your wife? He answered, No; I own I have my follies, but that does not make me unjust. Here the woman, surprised at his stay, came to the door, and, at my bidding, came in, and said, My dear, why do you leave me thus alone? This expression of her fondness threw him into a passion, and he swore that if ever she again used that expression, or followed him more, he would be her death. Passion, said I, proceeds very often from, and is a proof of guilt. It is not manly to treat a woman ill, especially if you have, as much I fear, seduced her with a promise of marriage, a practice too customary with our cloth: in such case I shall hold her innocent,

if, when she knows you have a wife and children, she breaks off a conversation which will be then criminal in her to continue. Young woman, said I, turning to her, Is this man your husband? She answered in the affirmative, which again put him into a passion, and he denied his ever being married to her, with bitter imprecations. I repeated my question to the woman, who said, indeed the ceremony had not been performed, but that they had been contracted several months, and cohabited, when he was not in the field, as man and wife. I am sorry for your misfortune; for this man is married, and has been so many years, to my sister, by whom he has had three children; so that you can have nothing to expect from him but scandal. If you value your reputation or safety, or have any regard for him, avoid him for the future; for I have so great a love for my sister, that if he continued to injure her, I would revenge it as an insult on myself, and expose my life, rather than suffer her to be wronged with impunity. What is passed can no otherwise be redressed than by your being no more guilty; on that condition I forgive you, and will endeavour to forget it. The poor woman burst into a flood of tears, and said, no man should have robbed her of her innocence; but she was betrayed by his reiterated promises, backed with solemn oaths, to make her his lawful wife. This he denied as passionately, which made the woman fly into such a rage, and vilify him in such opprobrious terms, that I feared he would do her a mischief, and gave me trouble enough to appease both parties. At length, my temper and reasons brought them to a calm, but it did not stop the woman's tears, who left us weeping, and with a resolution, at least a seeming one, never to come near him more. When she was gone, I represented to him, in the blackest colours, the villany of seducing young women by promises of marriage; and told him, that he must account for the breach of such oaths in another life, if he escaped unpunished in this. I told

him after this, that notwithstanding the hardships I had gone through, and the wounds I had received, I had such a liking to the service, that I was resolved to continue in it, and, to that end, would pass as his brother, and furnish him with what shirts, or other necessaries, he wanted, while he concealed my sex; but, if ever he discovered me, I would forget he was my husband, and he should find me a dangerous enemy.

What, then, said he, will you be cruel enough to rob me of my wife? Will you not give me the satisfaction of letting the world know how much you deserve, and how gratefully I can acknowledge the obligation your uncommon love has lain me under? For Heaven's sake reverse so intolerable a sentence! What! have you run so many hazards, borne the fatigue of so many years, only to have the satisfaction of tormenting me? Do you call this love? Banish me your bed——. I interrupted him with saying, he had forfeited his right to it, by having taken another to his; that my resolution was fixed, and all he could urge would not shake it; therefore desired he would put an end to a vain solicitation, which, if he continued, or ever once renewed, till accident, or peace, discovered me to be a woman, I would never more see him, or be any way assistant to him. Well, said he, I hope time will mollify you; I must obey. We sat together some little time after this; then I paid the reckoning, and gave my husband a piece of gold, telling him, he would find me a kind and generous brother, but that he must not think of enjoying his wife, while I could remain concealed, and the war lasted. He embraced me passionately, and telling me he did not think my heart as hard as he found it, we withdrew to our respective posts. We saw and conversed with each other every day, and he would often begin his solicitations, but I immediately put a stop to them. He kept my secret, and, had I not been discovered by an accident, which I shall take

notice of in its proper place, I should have continued a dragoon to the end of the war, when I intended, if God spared my life so long, to lay aside my disguise, return to Dublin, and resume my former business.

Having secured our prisoners, we returned to the army, which, under the command of his grace the duke of Marlborough, covered the siege of Landau before mentioned. After the surrender of this town to the king of the Romans, we were ordered to winter-quarters in Holland, leaving the foot, among which was my husband, behind us. His grace having made a tour into Germany, returned to England with his share of the prisoners, standards, and colours, taken at Hochstat.

I obtained leave to visit the Hague, certainly the most beautiful village in the whole world: from thence I made a tour to Rotterdam, and, in the dragschoot, happening to sit by a pretty Dutch girl, I told her she was very handsome. She returned, that I was very complaisant, but she did not know any one to whom she would more willingly appear agreeable; for I was a pretty young fellow. I find, said I, your banter will soon silence me; I said that you were handsome, because you are really so, and you are turning me into ridicule for speaking my sentiments; indeed, what I said was needless, because you cannot but be conscious of your own perfections; but out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaks. The very reason, replied she, that, before I was aware, I spoke my thoughts, which are altogether as sincere as your compliment.—Were they so, I should be the happiest man in the whole army of the allies. And, could I make you that happy man, it would, perhaps, make me the most miserable woman.—Then you are of opinion that a soldier cannot make a good husband.—That is not my reason; it is, I should be in continual apprehension for your life, and never know a minute's peace in your absence. —Such a confession might make any man vain, though from a person of much less merit; but I have too

great an opinion of your good sense to flatter myself that your heart corresponds with your tongue: no, you thought my declaration impertinent, and you have a mind to revenge yourself, by first raising my vanity, and then laughing at my credulity.—The schoot was, by this time, arrived at Delft; we all went across that town, which is the worst paved in Holland, to take another schoot at Amsterdam. I gallanted my pretty frow through the street, said all the fine things to her I could think of, and was so importunate to know her place of abode, and to have leave to wait on her, that she let me, at length, know it was without the gate, near the Scotch dike; and added, that if I was sincere, and my intentions honourable, she would give me leave to see her home, when we should come to Rotterdam, and should not be displeased with my future visits. In a word, at our arrival, she gave me her hand to help her out of the schoot, and conducted me to her lodgings, where she called for a bottle of wine to refresh me. I drank a glass or two before any but a servant appeared; but, not long after, a sister came in, who embraced her, and asked who I was. She told her that I was a gentleman belonging to the English forces, (for I had told her, in our passage; she could not otherwise have known, as I was dressed genteelly in a plain suit,) and that she was indebted to me for many civilities. The sister made me a compliment, and said, her mother would thank me, were she not indisposed. On this, my fair one begged me to excuse her waiting on her mother, and, with a surprise, said, The maid told me she was well. I told her I would take a more convenient time to pay her my respects; and, withdrawing, went into the town and got a lodging on the Scotch dike, in a house where a Scotch serjeant, of my acquaintance, going to Scotland to recruit, then lodged. His name was John Beggs; and, since that, he himself kept the same house, and had got money enough, if his good nature, and the credit

he gave to any of the three nations, especially if they played at backgammon, had not kept him under to the day of his death. We were glad to see each other, supped together, and, over a bottle, I told honest John what a fortuate adventure I had met with in my passage. I assure you, said he, you have reason to call it fortunnate, for they are mighty virtuous young ladies; there are three sisters and the mother, who live together, and are noted for their extensive charity. I have the honour to be well with, and visit the family: if you consent to it, we will wait on them to-morrow. I was glad to hear this character of the family, as I thought I might pass the few days I intended to stay at Rotterdam, in an agreeable, amusing way.

The next morning honest John showed me the town; we saw the town-house and anatomy chamber, the shambles, and the statue of Erasmus, with the house where that great man was born, and then, being tired of rambling, went to our quarters to dinner; after which, we set out to visit my new female acquaintance. We were carried into the same parlour I had been in the evening before. John bid the maid bring a bottle of wine, and tell the lady of the house he was there. I reprimanded him for his freedom, and told him I thought he took as much liberty as if he was in a public house. Oh, said he, they allow me to take what liberty I please: they are the best-natured family in Holland. At that instant my fellow-traveller came in, whom my friend John taking hold of, pulled upon his knee, and she suffered him to take such liberties as convinced me that there was not a family of more extensive charity; for they made no distinctions of rank, nation, or religion. She asked John if I was his acquaintance. He told her I was; Then, said she, as the gentleman made me a great many fine speeches in the schoot, and I really like him, do you take my sister, and oblige your friend and me, by my convincing him that I thought him a pretty fellow, as well as said so.

I was greatly shocked at my disappointment, and had much ado to prevent my treating her in a very rough manner, when she threw her arms round my neck and would have kissed me. I pushed her rudely off, saying, I had mistaken a fiend for an angel. I would have gone directly out of the house, but she clapped herself before the door, and told me, I must first pay the bottle of wine I had the evening before. Upon being told it was a guder, I threw down the money, and flew out of the house in a rage; my friend paid the other bottle, and followed me, laughing as if he would never have given over. When he could get the better of his fit, he asked me if I did not think myself fortunate in so virtuous an acquaintance.

Having visited Amsterdam, I returned to my quarters, where I stayed till the opening the campaign of 1705. We marched out of our winter-quarters, and encamped between Maestricht and Liege. The duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the 14th of April, where he stayed but a few days before he set out to place himself at the head of the army. The foregoing campaign it was agreed to provide good magazines in Germany, which his grace relying upon, took the better part of the army, after he had reviewed us, and directed his march towards the Moselle, to join the Germans betimes, not at all doubting but the French would draw off from the Low Countries a considerable number of their forces, and send them the same way to oppose the allies: but they were too well informed of the neglect of what had been agreed upon; were satisfied the duke would lose a great deal of time in waiting for the Germans, and were therefore determined to take advantage of their delay, and undertake some important expedition on the Maes. The Dutch army, not being strong enough to keep the field, was intrenched under the cannon of Maestricht. The French, quitting their lines on the 27th of May, encamped at

Vegnacourt, and at Val-Nôtre-Dame, and having sent a detachment over the Maes, they, the next day, invested Huy. The town, which was defenceless, immediately surrendered, upon condition that the burghers should keep their privileges, that the garrison should have liberty to retire into the castle, and that the French should not fire from the town on the castle nor the others from the castle upon the town. On the 30th, at night, the trenches were opened before Fort Picard, which was carried on the third assault, with all its outworks. They, immediately after the reduction of this fort, with all possible expedition, raised new batteries against the others, and made such a terrible fire with thirty pieces of cannon and twenty mortars, that Cronstrom, who was governor, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war on the 10th of June.

The French taking Huy, and laying siege to the citadel of Liege, together with the want of magazines on the Moselle, (by which neglect the duke's army began to suffer,) and the distance the Germans were off rendering it impossible to join him time enough to undertake anything considerable on that side, obliged the duke to quit the Moselle. His grace was no sooner arrived in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, but the French abandoned the city of Liege, raised the siege of the citadel, and withdrew, as usual, into their lines. The army being now united, took the field, and, in few days, retook Huy; and, by the advice of his grace the duke of Marlborough, resolved to attack the enemy's lines, by the shelter of which they had avoided a battle. To this end we decamped on the 17th of July, and marched straight to their lines, to attack them at one and the same time at Heilisheim, near the village and castle of Wang, and at the villages of Nederhespen and Oostmalen. The vanguard being, at break of day, arrived at the place of rendezvous, count Noyelles immediately assaulted the castle of Wang, which, after a

small defence, he carried, and entering the lines with the runaways, seized on the barriers, and drew up in order of battle.

Three battalions, with the like rapidity, possessed themselves of the village and bridge of Heilisheim, within a quarter of a league of Wang, and took post within the lines. Lieutenant-general Schultz, with as great facility, made himself master of the villages of Overhespen and Nederhespen; by which, our horse and dragoons having openings to enter the lines, his grace led us on, and formed us to make head against the enemy; their corps nearest to the places of attack were in motion at the first alarm, and about fifty squadrons and twenty battalions advanced to dispute the hollow way. Our horse, sustained by some of the foot, made our way; and the duke, at our head, charged the French horse so briskly, that he broke, entirely routed them, and made himself master of eight pieces of cannon. The rest of the French, who were advancing to support the foremost corps, seeing their horse take to flight, thought it no shame to follow their example. The glorious success of this attack of the French lines, the honour of which, as it was just, every one attributed to the duke of Marlborough's advice, conduct, and intrepidity, was followed by the taking of Tirlemont, where a French battalion was made prisoners. The French army, which was obliged to retreat, some towards Namur, and others towards Louvain, found means to unite, and intrench themselves behind the Dyle. The duke would have attacked them here, but being opposed by the Dutch, we had a three days' march for nothing, which the duke resented so much, that the States, to give his grace satisfaction, removed general Schlangenburg, who made the opposition. After we had continued some time in view of the enemy, near the abbeys of Ulierbeek and Park, on the 29th of August the duke marched to Leuwe, which was invested the same day by fifteen battalions, and

the same number of squadrons, notwithstanding its situation is in the middle of a morass. Lieutenant-general Dedem, who commanded this body of troops, having, on the 2nd of September, possessed himself of an advanced redoubt, which was raised on the avenue to the town, between nine and ten that night opened the trenches on the side of the gate of St. Tron, pushed on his works within two hundred yards of the covered way, and the batteries being soon ready to play, the baron du Mont, who commanded in the place, offered to march out, if all military honours were allowed him. This being rejected, he and his garrison were compelled to yield themselves prisoners of war on the 5th of the same month.

Our army having levelled the French lines, broken the sluices, and demolished the outworks of Tirlemont, to prevent the enemy from keeping garrison in it in the winter, we marched to Herenthals, and his grace made a tour to the Hague. On his return to the army, we besieged Sanduliet. The trenches were opened on the 26th of October, and the garrison, in three days, forced to surrender prisoners of war. The taking of this town putting an end to the operations of this campaign, his grace the duke of Marlborough went to Vienna, and was received with the highest marks of distinction. The emperor confirmed him prince of the empire, erected the district of Mildelheim into a principality for him, and gave advice of it to the diet of Ratisbon, enjoining them to receive a deputy of this principality, and to give him place in their sessions. The news of this being brought us, before we left Tirlemont, we were regaled with liquor, and made great rejoicings.

Nothing remarkable, or worth a reader's notice, happened to me in particular this winter. Our recruits, and horses to remount those who had lost them, arrived in Holland the 3rd of April, 1706, and the duke of Marlborough, with a number of volunteers, landed there

on the 25th. The enemy, in the interim, lost no time: they had wrought hard all winter upon their intrenchments behind the Dyle and on the fortifying Louvain, where they had brought together such prodigious quantities of flower, hay, oats, and all sorts of ammunition, that the fifty colleges were quite filled, beside the shambles, convents, &c.

The duke of Lorrain, fearing his country would be made the seat of war, from his grace's march in 1705 to the Moselle, when he drew near his frontiers, sent the count Martigny to his grace, with a very complaisant letter; in which he entreated him to use that moderation towards a defenceless country, which had, on many other occasions, heightened his great character. He also acquired of, and obtained from, the king of the Romans, the emperor's protection; and, by a memorial, desired the States-general to observe the same neutrality with regard to him, who was no way interested in the Spanish succession. His envoy received the following answer to his memorial; That the States having been informed that the French had not only possessed themselves of very advantageous posts in Lorrain, but were actually at work to fortify Nancy, they could not look upon such a procedure as other than an infraction of the neutrality which they had desired the duke to observe, by compelling the French to evacuate those places which they had seized. France, however, was very far from such a disposition; for the king apprehending an invasion, by the way of Lorrain, in the very beginning of this year seized upon all the duke's states, placed garrisons in all his fortified towns, and obliged him to furnish three millions of livres yearly, towards the expense of the war.

I thought this little digression necessary, that my readers might be acquainted with the then situation of affairs.

Everything being ready on either side to open the campaign, the army of the allies, on the 22nd of May, encamped between Corris and Tourine, near the

stone-mill of Kruisworm: the French also left their intrenchments on the Dyle, with design to surprise us while they were superior; for they had certain intelligence that the elector of Brandenburg, dissatisfied with the States on account of the inheritance of king William's estates, would not be over-hasty in sending his troops to the rendezvous; and that the Danes, who were at Nimeguen, had refused to march, by reason of the arrears due to them. Upon this advice, marshal Villeroy wrote to the elector, to invite him to share the victory, which he flattered himself he was upon the point of gaining. The States getting intelligence of the contents of this letter, wrote to the Danes to join the army with all possible expedition, and they would give them immediate satisfaction. They readily obeyed, and their generals being advised of the design of the French, hastened the march of the Wirtemberg troops; and, after taking proper measures, it was resolved rather to attack than wait the enemy. The French, who were advanced as far as Ramillies, seeing us, contrary to their expectations, on our march, were terribly embarrassed, and imagined they had received false intelligence; however, there was no avoiding a battle. We began on the 23rd, about two in the afternoon. The left of our army, which attacked the right wing of the enemy, met with a stout resistance before they could break them; which, however, they at length did, and put them to flight, while we were not less successful in the right wing. In a word, the enemy was everywhere entirely routed, and never victory was more complete. The shattered remains of their army fled in the greatest confusion, some to Louvain, others to Waveren, and the rest to Judoigne. We took a great number of prisoners in the pursuit, many colours and standards; artillery and ammunition, tin pontons and baggage. I escaped unhurt, though in the hottest of the battle, till the French were entirely defeated; when an unlucky shell from

a steeple, on which, before the battle, they had planted some mortars and cannon, which played all the time of the engagement, struck the back part of my head, and fractured my skull. I was carried to Meldre, or Meldert, a small town in the quarter of Louvain, two leagues south-east from that university, and five leagues north-west from Ramillies, upon a small brook which washes Tirlemont. I was here trepanned, and great care taken of me, but I did not recover in less than ten weeks. Though I suffered great torture by this wound, yet the discovery it caused of my sex, in the fixing of my dressing, by which the surgeons saw my breasts, and, by the largeness of my nipples, concluded I had given suck, was a greater grief to me. No sooner had they made this discovery, but they acquainted brigadier Preston, that his pretty dragoon (so I was always called) was, in fact, a woman. He was very loath to believe it, and did me the honour to say, he had always looked upon me as the prettiest fellow, and the best man he had. His incredulity made him send for my brother, whom he now imagined to be my husband; when he came, the brigadier said to him, Dick, I am surprised at a piece of news these gentlemen tell me; they say, your brother is, in reality, a woman. Sir, said he, since she is discovered, I cannot deny it; she is my wife, and I have had three children by her. The news of this discovery spread far and near, and reaching, among others, my lord John Hay's ear, he came to see me, as did all my former comrades. My lord would neither ask me, nor suffer any one else, any questions; but called for my husband, though first for my comrade, who had been long my bedfellow, and examined him closely. The fellow protested, as it was truth, that he never knew I was a woman, or even suspected it; It is well known, continued he, that she had a child lain to her, and took care of it. My lord then calling in my husband, desired him to tell the meaning of my dis-

guise. He gave him a full and satisfactory account of our first acquaintance, marriage, and situation, with the manner of his having entered into the service, and my resolution to go in search of him; adding the particulars of our meeting, and my obstinate refusal of bedding with him. My lord seemed very well entertained with my history, and ordered that I should want for nothing, and that my pay should be continued while under cure. When his lordship heard that I was well enough recovered to go abroad, he generously sent me a parcel of shirts and sheets to make me shifts. Brigadier Preston made me a present of a handsome silk gown; every one of our officers contributed to the furnishing me with what was requisite for the dress of my sex, and dismissed me the service with a handsome compliment. I being thus equipped, waited on my lord, the brigadier, and other my benefactors, to return them thanks for the obligations they had lain me under. My lord said, he hoped I would not continue my cruelty to my husband, now that I could no longer pass under a disguise. I answered, My lord, I must own, I have a strong inclination to the army, and I apprehended the consequence of conversing with my husband might be my dismission; for a great belly could not have been concealed. The discovery of my sex has now removed the cause, and I have no objection to living with my husband, as it is the duty of an honest wife. Well, said my lord, I am satisfied with your reason, and we will have a new marriage. Accordingly all our officers were invited, and we were, with great solemnity, wedded and bedded; the sack-posset eaten, and the stocking thrown. After this ceremony, every one, at taking leave, would kiss the bride, and left me a piece of gold, some four or five, to put me in a way of life.

I conceived the first night, having never known man, except my husband, but the time I was surprised, as I have before related. An idle life was what I

could never away with; beside, I was under a necessity, having now no pay, to do something for a support; wherefore I undertook to cook for our regiment, returning to my husband's quarters every night. I did not long carry on this business, as the close attendance it required prevented my marauding, which was vastly more beneficial. After I had given over my cooking, I turned sutler, and, by the indulgence of the officers, was permitted to pitch my tent in the front, while others were driven to the rear of the army.

The rapidity of the conquests which attended the victory of Ramillies, is so remarkable, that it would be unpardonable in me to pass it over in silence to continue my particular history.

Our victorious army having rested the night which followed the battle, briskly pursued the enemy the next morning; drew near to Judoigne, and crossed the Dyle on the 25th, near Louvain. This large city, being abandoned, submitted; we took possession of all the great stores of all sorts of provisions, which I have already said the enemy had there lain up, and placed a garrison in it. From hence our army marched on to Brussels; from which town the elector of Bavaria, and his court, had retired after the last battle, in which he shared no laurels with the marshal, as he had hoped: wherefore, the town being summoned by a letter from the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States, opened her gates and submitted to king Charles. Malines, or Mechlin, followed this example, as did Lire, situated on the Nethe, and strongly fortified.

The elector of Bavaria, who had no settled place since his and the marshal's defeat, seemed determined to stand the allies behind the Scheld, near Ghent, with the troops he had saved; but they did not give him time to intrench himself, for they decamped from Grimbergen on the 30th, passed by Alost, and being advanced as far as Meerbeek, they heard that

the enemy had abandoned the lines in Flanders, and retired behind their old lines, near Merien and Courtray. While the army was on their march, I joined it, being entirely recovered. On this advice, Ghent was summoned, which surrendered to major-general Cadogan, on condition that their privileges should be preserved. General Fagel possessed himself of Bruges, on the same terms; and, without striking a stroke, made himself master of Dam, a small, but a very strong town, and of the castle of Rodenhuis, or Red-house. After the enemy had abandoned all their lines in the country of Waas, the garrison of Antwerp making a show of defence, general Cadogan marched thither with twelve hundred men, and summoned the place. After many parleys, it was at last agreed that the garrison should march out on the 7th of June, with arms and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, four mortars, and as many cannon. The next day the French also evacuated Fort Pearl, Fort Mary, and Fort Philip, situated on the Scheld, and near to Antwerp. Even Oudenard, a strong fortified town on the same river, between four and five leagues distant from Ghent, being summoned on the 1st of June, surrendered on composition the next day, the marquis de Bournonville seeing four pieces of cannon mounted on a battery. Thus the winning of one single battle reduced in a few days, all Brabant, and a great part of Flanders, to the obedience of king Charles.

That the fruit of such a successful opening of a campaign might not be lost, the duke of Marlborough went to the Hague, to consult the States-general on the plan of military expeditions, and returned to the camp on the 13th of June, when he immediately invested Ostend by land, while admiral Fairborn blocked it up by sea with nine men-of-war, and four bomb-ketches. We could not entirely enclose the town, without taking Fort de Plasendaal, raised on the canal of Bruges; general Fagel attacked this with such re-

solution, that the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, was made prisoners of war. The fire upon the town, both from the land and sea, was so terrible, that it capitulated on the 6th of July; she had, under the government of the archduke Albert, held out a three years' siege, and now hardly so many days. The garrison was suffered to march out with their swords, and them only on condition that they should not, of six months, bear arms against king Charles, or his allies.

After the reduction of Ostend, our army encamped with the right at Wellem, the left at Harlebeck. Hither the town of Courtray sent deputies to the generals to make its submission, the French having abandoned it after having exacted large contributions. Brigadier Meredith went to blockade, and try if he could reduce it by famine, while the grand army undertook the siege of Menin, with two hundred pieces of cannon, great and small, brought from Maestricht and Holland. General Salisch, who had the direction of this important siege, invested the place the 22nd of July; which, though called the key of France, held out but eighteen days after our trenches were opened, and surrendered upon terms in a month after it was invested. We lost a great many men in this siege; I was myself exposed to no danger but when my husband was, whom I always followed, and whom I would never abandon, wherever he went. While the army stayed here to fill up the works, and repair the breaches, general Churchill was detached with six battalions, and the same number of squadrons, to reduce Dendermond, which made a more obstinate resistance than was expected. The general acquitted himself so well of his commission, that this town, which was almost inaccessible, surrendered on the 5th of September.

The siege of Ath was next undertaken, by field-marshal Ouwerkerke, or Auverquerque, with forty bat-

talions and thirty squadrons. General Ingoldsby broke ground on the 20th, at night, with the loss of one man only; for, the enemy imagining we should open our trenches on the side where the lord Auverquerque was, had drawn their strength to that quarter, to prevent, or impede, his works. Our men covered themselves before they discovered their mistake. When my husband marched with general Ingoldsby to the side where they were to break ground, he left me boiling the pot, with which I designed to regale him and the officers of his regiment. When my meat was ready, I covered it with cloths so close that no steam could get out, and, venturing through a village belonging to the enemy, in which I ran the hazard of being killed or stripped, by a circuit of five miles, I got safe, with my provisions on my head, to the trench. It was a fatiguing journey, the way being difficult to find, and the night being very dark: but what danger will deter a woman who truly loves her husband? having found mine, I set my broth and meat before him; he invited his colonel, and other officers, who where not a little surprised at the risk I had run, and that I could bring it so hot such a length of way. Lord Auverquerque, who was come to thank the officers and soldiers for their diligence, stood talking to some of the former, when I, looking through the sand-bags, saw a soldier, who, ignorant of our being on the side we were, came out of the town to gather turnips. I took a piece out of one of our people's hand, and called to an officer to see me shoot him; for we had pushed our trenches within thirty-three paces of the palisades. I suppose we were just then perceived; for the instant I killed the man, a musket-shot, from the town, came through the sand-bags, split my under lip, beat one of my teeth into my mouth, and knocked me down. Both this shot and mine, with which I killed the soldier, were so exactly at a time, that none could distinguish whether I fell by the recoiling of the piece, or the enemy's ball. My husband, and some of

his comrades, ran to take me up, and seeing me bloody, imagined I was shot through the head; but I convinced them to the contrary, by spitting the ball and tooth into my hand. General Ingoldsby sent for his surgeon, who sewed up my lip, and took care of me in the cure. Lord Auverquerque, who had seen what had passed, made me a present of five pistoles, and told me, he was sorry that the pains I had taken, in providing refreshment for my husband and his officers, had been attended with such a misfortune. I stayed in the trench till the next night, when our regiment, for so I call that of my husband, being relieved by another, marched off. In a few days the breaches were so wide, that the besieged beat the chamade in the afternoon of the 30th of September, but all terms were refused them, and the garrison, consisting of two thousand one hundred men, on the 2nd of October, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war: the officers, however, were allowed their swords and baggage. The reduction of this town put an end to the campaign of 1706, in the Low Countries. We joined the grand army, which, under the duke of Marlborough, covered the siege, and, in a fortnight after, moved to St. Quintin-Lennick, in order to separate, and march into winter-quarters. Our regiment was quar tered in Ghent, where I was delivered of a child before my time, which lived about half a year. Rather than live upon the spend, an idle life, I hired myself to Mr. Dupper, who, since, kept a tavern on Fish-street-hill, and was then head sutler, to be under the cook. While I was in this service, the cook had one day orders to dress something for Mr. Stone the surgeon, which was ready for the table, when lieutenant St. Leger, of general Evans's regiment of foot, came into the kitchen, and would have it for himself; the cook would not yield to it, and the lieutenant knocked him down; I was then in my back kitchen washing my dishes, and seeing the brutality of the action, it raised my spirits, I ran to the lieutenant, collared him, threw

up his heels, and, in the fall, he broke his leg. Mr. Dupper, Mr. Stone, and several others ran in to know the grounds of this scuffle, which, upon hearing, every one allowed me to have been in the right. Mr. Stone refused to set his leg, which was done by a French surgeon, but after such a bungling manner, that it was an eyesore to his dying day; no small mortification to him, who was a tall, strong, well-made, black man, had a very handsome face, and a genteel, easy shape; all which, he needed nobody to tell him, for he had no small opinion of himself. He was descended from sir Anthony St. Leger, who possessed an estate, as I have heard, of ten thousand a year in Kent, which he very much impaired in the service of king Charles I., whose cause he strenuously asserted against his rebellious subjects. This lieutenant was not a little proud of his family, though I have heard among the officers, what ground they had for it I can't say, that his father was but a merry-begotten son of sir Anthony's; but this, others have contradicted, and given for reason, that king Charles II. put our lieutenant's father and brother into the Charterhouse. The gentleman I am speaking of, was haughty, morose, and vain: I believe he did not want courage, notwithstanding he was very much of the bully, a gamester, a known setter, and a sharper at play. His misfortune became a standing jest; for whenever he was quarrelsome in company, he was menaced with me. Some years after, I met him in the Tilt-yard coffee-house, where a gentleman asked him if he knew me; he answered, he had seen my face some where. Why, said the other, have you forgot Kit Welsh, who broke your leg? He then looked more earnestly at me, but said no more than, D——n her, she is strangely altered, she is grown fat. 'Tis true, said I, in my person I am altered, but not in my temper; for, should I see you knock down, as you did, a man of much inferior strength, as was our cook, I might, perhaps, give you another broken leg: he returned me some

curses, which he could do as well as any officer in the army, (for he swore a round hand,) and left the coffee-house.

During my stay in Ghent, the Dutch woman with whom I found my husband at Breda, whom he had promised never more to see, the condition on which I forgave his lubricity, had the confidence to take a lodging opposite to ours, and one day, just when I had prepared dinner, inveigled him to an alehouse. I knew not where he was, and being impatient, went out to look him, and was informed by a neighbour, that he was at such an alehouse with his mistress. This news setting me in a flame, I ran directly thither, and saw them sitting in a box, the woman outermost. My rage was so great, that I struck at her with a case-knife I had undesignedly brought out in my hand, and cut her nose off close to the face, except a small part of the skin, by which it hung. My husband leaping over the table, ran to the mainguard for a surgeon, who sewed it on again; but the wound, however, disfigured her, and I ran for an officer to secure them both. My husband, by order of the colonel, was confined, and reprimanded very severely, and, had I not interposed when my passion was over, he had been made run the gantelope: as he was confined during my pleasure, I was no sooner cool, but I procured his liberty. His dulcinea did not come off at as easy a rate, for she was put into a turning-stool, and whirled round till she was dizzy, and so sick that she emptied her stomach. This stool is like a round cage, big enough to hold one person, fixed upon a spindle, and being only railed in, the criminal is exposed to the ridicule of all the by-standers. After she had undergone this punishment, she was, with great ceremony, conducted out of the gates of the town. I own the violence of my temper, which is a very jealous one, pushed me on too far in this business, for I am satisfied, in the place where I found them, they could not wrong me; and, indeed, I

have reason to believe my husband never injured me with women from the time I found him. To say the truth, I can tax his memory with nothing but an unhappy itch to play, which he could not be broke of, though it almost broke me, and was the only cause of uneasiness that I ever had all the time I was his wife. The woman who raised my jealousy, married at Groningen; I often afterwards met her, and was as well pleased, as she was mortified, at the figure she made by the amputation of her nose, and its being stitched on again.

Soon after my rough treatment of my husband's quondam mistress, a man and a woman were executed for a barbarous murder. He was married to a very handsome woman at Oudenard, by whom he had had three children, and she was, at the time he perpetrated this villany, big of the fourth. The female criminal was his servant, a very pretty girl, but not to be put in competition with his wife, though he gave her the preference. He carried on an intrigue with this wench, and that he might do it without control, resolved to take his wife off by poison, which he accordingly prepared, and bade the wench put it into her mistress's water-gruel, then went to Ghent. She punctually performed this order, and it had the dire effect proposed: the poor woman swelled amazingly, and was in the utmost torture; her little boy, about nine years old, hearing his mother cry out in her agonies, ran and brought her relations; but no remedy could relieve her, and it being evident that she was poisoned, the maid was secured, who, in prison, to excuse herself, said she had put something into her mistress's water-gruel, which was given her by her master to that end. Upon this confession, four men, one of which was the unhappy wife's brother, were appointed to watch his return to the town, which was about sunset. He was immediately seized, and clapped into a separate prison, and, in few days, the whole truth was sifted out; on

which they were condemned, and the next day executed; the maid was beheaded, and the master broke upon the wheel. The execution over, they were hung up in iron chains, the woman by the heels, the man by the neck.

As this year, 1706, was remarkable for the memorable march of prince Eugene to, and raising the siege of Turin, I believe I shall not displease my readers by taking a step into Italy, and giving a short account of the situation of affairs in Savoy; where the French had spoiled that duke of the greater part of his country. On the 29th of September they invested Turin, but the court of Versailles being of opinion that their troops in Piedmont were not sufficient, they withdrew from thence on the 10th of October, and attempted Asti; but failing there, they made themselves amends by the reduction of Nice, which the duke of Berwick invested the 31st of October, and took by capitulation on the 4th of January of this year.

During the winter, 1705, the king of France had made such preparations for the reduction of the capital of Savoy, as were amazing, and gave every one ground to believe his success infallible. The duke, on the other hand, notwithstanding the French had possessed themselves of so many of his towns, did not lose courage, but did everything that a brave and prudent prince ought for the defence of his country; employing the subsidies he drew from England and Holland, in well storing his metropolis with provision and ammunition, in repairing the old, and adding new fortifications. The town being invested about the middle of May, was assaulted and defended with equal and surprising bravery, though with different success on either side. While, at Turin, they were furiously intent upon the taking and retaking the outworks, prince Eugene began his march for Italy with the imperial army, greatly re-enforced by the auxiliary troops of England and Holland. All that the duke of Vendome could do to

impede his march, proved fruitless; he broke through all the obstacles the French threw in his way, and subsisted his army in the midst of an enemy's country, which he was obliged to cross; passed several large rivers, and, in thirty-four marches, joined the duke of Savoy on the 1st of September, within four leagues of Turin. The extremity to which this city was reduced, hastening their preparations, the army crossed the Doria on the 6th, with design to attack the enemy the next morning, as they did, marching up to the trench, reserving their own, and receiving their fire at the very foot of their intrenchments, where they fell upon them with such fury, and so close and terrible a fire, that nothing could withstand them. The French, driven from trench to trench, and pursued with a cruel slaughter, abandoned all their artillery and ammunition, and sought their safety in their flight. This glorious victory not only delivered the capital, but retrieved what the duke had lost, and was followed by the submission of the Milanese to king Charles III.

We are now come to the year 1707, in which marshal Villars forced the lines of Stolhossen, on the Upper Rhine, got a considerable booty, took two hundred pieces of cannon, opened himself a passage into Germany, and exacted contribution on all hands. The consternation this caused, made the court of Vienna strenuously solicit the States-general and the electors, to send immediate succours for the defence of the empire, and offer the command of the imperial army, as generalissimo, to the elector of Hanover, the late king George, who accepted it at the solicitation of queen Anne and the States-general; but nothing more was done on the Upper Rhine this campaign, than observing the motions of one another.

The duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the 12th of May, and from thence, without loss of time, he set out for the army encamped at Lembeek. The attention of all being turned on the siege of Toulon,

where the allies miscarried, nothing of importance was done this campaign in the Low Countries; wherefore, as the battle of Almanza was fought this year, my reader will forgive me if I turn his eyes upon Spain, where the allies having raised the siege of Barcelona, penetrated as far as Madrid, which king Philip abandoned and went to head the succours sent him by France, as he declared in his manifesto: which succours were so considerable, that, being joined with the troops that had been compelled to raise the siege of Barcelona, and had marched through Navarre into Castile, his army was stronger than that of the allies by twenty-five squadrons and thirteen battalions, besides the inhabitants of the country, who had taken up arms in his cause. Wherefore the allies seeing that king Charles continued still in Aragon, thought proper to quit this capital in their turn. King Charles at length joined the army on the 8th of August, with two regiments of horse and three battalions; but it was too late, they had let slip the opportunity, and the best they could now do, was to march to the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia, and so to distribute the winter-quarters as to be able to cover those two kingdoms, with Aragon and Catalonia. King Charles, with a few troops, withdrew to Barcelona; and on his retreat, the French took in a great number of towns, castles, and forts, which had deserted from king Philip upon the raising the siege of Barcelona. In the spring, it was resolved in a council held in Valencia, to assemble in one body all the troops, and by the way of Aragon to penetrate into Castile, and destroy the magazines which the enemy had made on the frontiers. The whole army took the field on the 6th of April, to put the project in execution. The number of the allies were fifty-three squadrons and forty-two battalions, which having destroyed the enemy's magazines at Baudera, Yela, and Montalegre, they besieged the castle of Villena; but before any breach made, the

enemy, having, near Almanza, formed a body of seventy-six squadrons, and fifty-four battalions, were preparing to march, and join seven or eight thousand French under the command of the duke of Orleans. As the allies did not imagine the enemy so strong, it was resolved, in a council of war held the 24th, to attack them before their proposed junction; accordingly they began their march the next morning, and about noon, coming on the plain in sight of the enemy, these latter raised their piquet, and ranged in order of battle before the town of Almanza. The English and Dutch, who began the fight, notwithstanding they behaved with as much bravery as men could do, were twice repulsed, and the enemy obtained a complete victory. About three thousand were taken prisoners; the better part of the foot was cut to pieces, and the few that remained passed the Ebro under the conduct of lord Galway and the marquis de las Minas. The havoc made of the allies had been much greater, and possibly no quarters had been given, if the duke of Berwick had not interposed.

After this signal victory, the conquerors found no difficulty to make themselves masters of Requina, and of almost all the kingdom of Valencia; and dividing their army into three corps, that under the duke of Orleans took in Calatajud, and on the 25th of May appeared before Saragossa. The garrison the allies left there, withdrew the night before into Catalonia, so that the town came to the best terms they could with the duke, who put into it two thousand men. The chevalier d'Asfeld, who commanded the second corps, after having taken Xativa sword in hand, left the castle invested, to join the troops which the bishop of Murcia had set on foot, and to besiege Alicant. In the interim, the earl of Galway, having drawn out the garrisons of several places, had taken post behind the Segre, and, to maintain it, began to raise trenches and redoubts from Tortosa even beyond Lerida, but the duke of

Berwick, with a third body, having joined the duke of Orleans, it was resolved, notwithstanding the excessive heats, to dislodge the English generals, to cross the Ebro, and to penetrate into Catalonia. The cannon being arrived, they placed it on the bank of the Cinca; made so strong a fire upon four squadrons posted on the other side, that they were obliged to retire: after which the enemy crossed the river, and Fraga having been abandoned by the garrison, they had no obstacle to hinder them from besieging Lerida. The fortifications of this place were in fine repair; and three thousand English, who were in garrison, had had the precaution to destroy the houses, gardens, and trees, that were in the neighbourhood. The violent heats being over, the duke of Orleans sent his foot before, on the 10th of September, and followed them with the horse a few days after; but they spent near a month in making preparations for the siege: the trenches were not opened till the 2nd of October. Notwithstanding the besieged made a gallant defence, the assailants pushed forward their works. On the 12th the breach was large enough to attack the covered way, where the besiegers made a lodgment, after an obstinate and bloody dispute of two full hours. This obliged the garrison to retire to the castle, before which the trenches were opened on the 16th, at night, though it was opposed by some general officers, who opined for a blockade, because the season was far advanced, and that the earl of Galway was on his march to succour the besieged: but the precaution taken to guard all the passes, rendered his attempt fruitless. The duke of Orleans having carried the outworks sword in hand the 1st of November, made several mines, and battered the main body of the place. The garrison being thus straitened, capitulated on the 10th, and was allowed all military honours, and to be conducted to lord Galway the nearest way; besides, a free pardon was granted to the inhabitants.

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the kingdom of

Leon, was next undertaken, and taken on capitulation. The winter drawing on, the Spaniards not having provided what was necessary for new enterprises, nothing more was done in Catalonia this campaign. In Flanders, as I have before said, the French and allies were in a manner inactive; though the former was, at home, secretly employed in preparing for the execution of a project, which had it succeeded, would have quite disconcerted the latter, and have made Lewis XIV. triumph for all his enemies; but as secret as were his preparations, they were discovered by the Dutch, who gave the queen of England advice by a fishing-boat, that the design was formed, and everything in readiness to make a descent on some part of her dominions in favour of the Pretender. The event proved, that the States-general were not imposed upon in the intelligence they had received; for the French embarked twelve battalions on board a sufficient number of ships, with everything necessary; some thousands of spare arms, and four millions of livres. On the 5th of March, 1708, the king went to St. Germains to take his leave of the Pretender, and, in wishing him a happy issue, made him a present of a sword set with diamonds, worth fifty thousand livres, desiring him to remember that it was a French sword. Having made a suitable compliment to the king, the Pretender took his leave of the dauphin and the other princes of the blood, and that very day set out for Dunkirk, from whence he set sail the 17th, at night, with a number of volunteers, big with the hopes of being joined by such malcontents in Scotland, where he designed to land, as were averse to the Union, and with the troops which followed, and the assistance of such Scots, to submit the whole kingdom of Great Britain.

The designs of France being timely discovered, the English and States-general soon got ready a fleet of forty men-of-war under the command of the late lord Torrington, who, with all the sail they could crowd, fol-

lowed the French, having advice of their departure and course. In the mean while some English troops drawn out of the garrisons of Flanders, were sent to England by the way of Ostend. The Pretender came to an anchor near Edinburgh; fired the number of cannon agreed upon with his partisans; and hoped the signal would raise some thousands of malcontents, who would take arms to support his pretensions. On the certain assurances made him of an insurrection, preparations were making to disembark his troops, but the English, by a great deal an over-match for the French, appearing in sight, suspended the landing. A council was held, in which it was resolved to send three ships close to the town to land their troops in case they perceived any commotion in their favour; but these having the mortification to find none moved, but to repel them in the attempt, they were obliged to drop the enterprise, and make the best of their way to the coast of France. They were chased by the English, and the Salisbury taken. Thus the Pretender returned to Dunkirk the beginning of April, and all his hopes were dissipated like smoke; the unsuccessful project only served to irritate the allies against France, and brought them to a resolution of acting with more vigour than they had yet done. To this end the duke of Marlborough, who had made a tour into Germany, set out for Brabant on the 3rd of May, and before the end of the month had drawn the army together. The French also, on their side, assembled their forces, and the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, who were to command this year, accompanied by the Pretender and count Thoulouse, arrived at the camp. After many motions, the allies encamped near Louvain, the French at Genap and Braine la Leuze; both armies intrenching as if they designed to try which would be first weary of staying; but on a sudden, when none expected it, the French, on the 4th of July, at night, sent away sixteen thousand men, who marched by the way of

Enghien to Alost, and broke all the bridges behind them on the Dender. The body of their army coming to Halle, orders were sent to the above detachment to march with all speed to Ninove, and from thence the following night to Ghent, each horseman with a foot soldier behind him; they arrived as the gates were opening, and having forced the guard of burghers, made themselves masters of the town; upon which, the garrison, not being strong enough to make any defence, immediately capitulated. At the same time the count de la Motte, who was in Walloon Flanders, marching with a body of thirteen thousand men, and some pieces of cannon, to Bruges, found the town unprovided with troops, and seized upon it on the 6th of this same month; after which, he carried Fort Plassendal sword in hand.

At the first intelligence of the march of the French, the allies pursued them with all possible expedition, and even fell upon their rearguard, but could not prevent their continuing their march; wherefore, on advice of the loss of these three places, they marched with all speed towards Oudenard, to meet with the enemy, between the Scheld and the Lis, on their return to the frontiers of France, and force them to a battle. To this end monsieur Rantzau and general Cadogan were detached to secure the pass of Lessines, while the army bent its march the same way. On the 11th, about noon, these officers discovered the French army intrenched below Oudenard, on a ground encumbered with hedges and bushes. They immediately gave notice of it to the grand army, and had orders sent back to attack them without losing a minute's time. They accordingly charged them at the village, whence they drove them with great slaughter. The rest of the army having passed the Scheld, formed themselves as they advanced, and began the fight about four o'clock, with a great deal of resolution, but the foot only engaged, the hedges and hollow ways hinder-

ing the horse from coming in for any share in the action. The French were driven from hedge to hedge, and everywhere trodden under foot; however, they behaved very gallantly, and disputed every inch of ground, till, being taken in the rear by eighteen battalions and some horse, they began to lose courage, quitted the field, where they left a great number of their dead, and taking advantage of the darkness of the night, fled in great disorder, and sheltered themselves under the cannon of Ghent. We could not have obtained a more complete victory. We soon after moved to Courtray; there, colonel Cholmondeley's men, who lay without the town, near the palisades, were drawn up to be reviewed by their officers, while I was going into the town to purchase provisions for my tent. The colonel, who was of a gay, lively temper, and pretty much of what we call the wag, seeing me go into the town, waited for my coming out, that he might divert himself by teasing me, which he did not a little delight in. I carried my provisions on a mare; the colonel had a small black stonehorse, which, when he saw me returning, he turned loose, and the horse, like a brute as he was, began to be very rude with my poor beast, and in his rough courtship broke me four bottles of wine. I was so irritated at this, that having driven away his unmannerly tit, I pursued the colonel with stones, but he eluded my anger by his flight, and told the officers, that his stonehorse had an amour with Kit Welsh. Some time after this, as I was upon my mare, in a dress convenient for my vocation, Mr. Montgomery, captain of the grenadiers in lord Orkney's regiment, began to ridicule my habit, and make a jest of my poor beast. I offered to run her against his horse for a pistole, and we would both ride. Brigadier Godfrey, who was by, laid another pistole on my side. We both went to the place chosen to run upon, and starting at the beat of drum, placed to give the signal, he suffered me to keep pace with him some time, but finding he was going to

leave me, I made a furious push at him, flung man and horse into a ditch, and thus won the race. The brigadier laughed heartily at my stratagem, the captain was half angry, but I got a couple of pistoles, (for the brigadier gave me that he had won,) and did not much concern myself, nor should I have given myself any trouble had he been irritated, for I may safely say, I had as little fear about me as any man in the army.

The allies having received a re-enforcement of German troops which had followed prince Eugene from the Moselle to the Low Countries, possessed themselves of the lines the French had thrown up to cover Walloon Flanders; extended their contributions as far as the gates of Arras, and made preparations to lay siege to Lisle. As soon as the heavy cannon and a convoy of five thousand waggons laden with provision and ammunition, which prince Eugene himself escorted with a body of forty thousand men, were arrived, the town was invested on the 1st of August. It was abundantly supplied with everything necessary to hold out a long siege; and marshal Boufflers, who commanded in it, had with him ten thousand, some said thirteen thousand men. The trenches were opened the 11th, at night, and the works were carried on without intermission, while the grand army observed that of the French, which was daily re-enforced: for as the siege employed the whole strength of the allies, they could safely disgarnish most of their towns; besides which they received a strong re-enforcement led by the duke of Berwick out of Germany; so that their army consisted of a hundred and twenty-six battalions and two hundred and eight squadrons. With these considerable forces, they marched by the way of Orchies, Bergues, and Pevele towards Phalempin, and having taken out of Douay thirty pieces of heavy cannon, they drew near the allies the 5th of September, whom, though re-enforced the night before by a detachment of seventy-seven squadrons from the army carrying on the siege,

every one expected they would attack: but the duke of Marlborough soon discovering that they designed only to retard the siege, ordered the tents to be pitched, fortified his camp with the utmost care, and sent back to the siege a part of the troops he had received from thence. In the interim of these motions, the besiegers having pushed as far as the glacis of the counterscarp, four thousand grenadiers, beside those who were employed in the works, were commanded to give the assault, which began at night on the 9th of September, and a most furious one it was. The enemies' fire from their outworks, which were not yet demolished, made a dismal havoc, and certainly this was the most bloody action that ever was seen: the assailants, notwithstanding, made several lodgments on the covered way, spite of the gallant resistance of the besieged.

There were some English and Dutch troops posted in the market-town called Entrieres, where they had intrenched themselves: these the duke of Vendome cannonaded with forty pieces of cannon, which made us all conclude he would at length come to a battle: but he, secretly decamping on the 15th, lined the Scheld from Tournay to Ghent, and the canal from thence to Bruges; by which he cut off all the convoys the allies might have had from the frontier towns, except from Ostend. Eight thousand English were landed at this port, with a great quantity of powder and provision, and stores of all sorts, a great part of which had already been received by the besiegers. As the remainder was still considerable, and was every day increasing by fresh supplies from England, major-general Webb and count Nassau-Woudenburg were detached with thirty battalions to escort it; my husband was in this detachment, whom I followed, and the duke of Marlborough advanced beyond Menin, almost as far as Marquette, to be at hand to sustain us. We were joined by a second detachment of twelve battalions and

twenty-eight squadrons, and met the convoy at Hoogleden, where we had advice that monsieur la Motte was marching with a body of twenty-three thousand men and better, to attack it near Wenendal; upon which news our men were immediately formed into two lines, at the issue of the defile near the castle of Wenendal, and our generals posted, on each side, a regiment in the coppice with orders to lie snug, and not to fire till they were sure of taking the enemy in flank. Hardly was this disposition made before the enemy appeared in sight. They formed the infantry into four lines, and the horse in as many, and entered the defile to attack the escort: but they were no sooner within our ambush but they were saluted with a general discharge on either hand, which put their right and left into a thorough disorder; they, however, formed again very soon, and even made two battalions give way a little, but Albemarle's regiment coming up to oppose their passage directly in their front, kept them in play, and gave time to make some fresh troops advance. Seeing themselves attacked in front, and open on the flanks to an incessant fire, the two wings were forced in disorder up their centre, and all of them returning the way they had come, hastened out of the defile, where they left four thousand of their dead, and some pieces of cannon. The French general not being able to lead on his third attack, was obliged to retreat, and suffer the convoy to pass. We had not above six or seven thousand men, so that they were above three to one. The conduct of general Webb greatly contributed to this victory, which, however, he paid dear for by the wounds he received. I got a fine bay horse with silver-capped pistols and laced housings and pistol-bags. I sold my horse to colonel Hamilton for nine pistoles; my pistols to captain Brown for five crowns; and the lace of my furniture, excepting what I reserved to lace the knees of my husband's breeches, to a Jew, at five livres an ounce.

The safe arrival of this convoy, was a subject of great joy to the allies, who must have raised the siege had it miscarried. As they began to want powder in the town, notwithstanding the care that was taken to store it with all necessaries in abundance, the French endeavoured to supply them with a good number of bags, which their horse carried behind them. This enterprise was undertaken the very night after the battle of Wenendal. A detachment was made of three small bodies of horse, with green boughs in their hats, which was the distinction of our troops: the first party succeeded in this stratagem, and calling themselves Germans, had the good fortune to get into the town; the second, being discovered, were all blown up, by our fire taking their powder, or made prisoners; and the third returned back the way they were coming.

The besiegers having, though with the loss of a great many brave fellows, made their way, on the 3rd of October attacked the half-moon at noonday: they carried the work, but before they could lodge themselves, the fire from the town killed two hundred and fifty of their men; they kept the post notwithstanding. The siege was carried on with such resolution, that on the 22nd the governor found himself under a necessity of hanging out a white ensign. The town, after the capitulations were signed, was surrendered to the allies. Seventeen hundred French horse were conducted to Douay. The rest of the garrison, which was six thousand men, retired into the citadel, which was surrounded with a double ditch and a number of outworks.

During this siege, which was not more bravely attacked than defended, as I was one day a foraging, I entered a chateau, deserted by the enemy, and found in it a basket of eggs, and another of cocks and hens, (in the camp language, corporals and their wives,) which I made free with; the eggs I presented to the duke of Argyle, and the fowls to some officers. The next day I returned to the same place, and got corn,

hay, and straw, for my mare. The third visit I made with a resolution to search more narrowly, for something of greater consequence, but some of our men had been there, and deceived my hopes; for I could meet with nothing more valuable than what I had before carried off; therefore I was forced to content myself with provender for my mare. In the time I was searching, some of the French army came in upon me, and took both myself, my mare, and my forage. The soldiers were quarrelling about the right to my clothes when their officer came in, whom by good fortune I knew. He asked me, what had brought me thither, and who I was. I answered, that I thought he ought to know me, being a son of captain Maclaughings of Clare's regiment; (for I was in man's clothes;) Well now, honey, said he, I vawsh not after knowing you before, but give my humble service to my cushin and naamshake; but heark'ye now, joy, are you Richard or John? Fait, said I, in the brogue, I am Richard. Well now, cushin, replied he, what will I do for you; but indeed, honey, nobody shall meddle wid your tings, joy, but go in te name of Cott. I made the best of my way to the duke of Argyle's quarters, where I found his grace and the lord Mark Kerr at chess. I asked them with some warmth, in a language which only became a soldier, and a freedom allowed my sex, what they meant by having no better intelligence, and idling their time at chess while the French were on the point of cannonading us. I had, in returning from my chateau, observed all the hedges lined and the cannon ready to play upon us. The lord Mark Kerr, surprised to see his grace pay any regard to what I had said, told him, I was a foolish drunken woman, and not worth notice: to which the duke replied, he would as soon take my advice as that of any brigadier in the army. He then asked me my reasons; I told him, and had hardly done it, when he found my intelligence true, and that we had scarce time to get into the lines for safety. Sir Richard Temple's and

How's regiments were ordered to clear the hedges, and the duke would have gone with them, and probably never returned, had I not prevented him by keeping back his horse; for both these regiments were cut to pieces before our horse and train of artillery came up, which soon drove them to the main body of their army. The enemy cannonaded the duke of Argyle's quarters so soon, that there was no making a bed for him there; and he was obliged to take up with one of straw of my making, and colonel Campbell for a chum. They had no candles, but I had two of wax taken out of a priest's house, and hung up one over their heads in a paper lantern. Here they slept very comfortably, and I took the opportunity to steal the duke's wine for the poor fellows upon the guard, who I thought wanted it to comfort them: I had left but two bottles, which occasioned the duke's butler making a great uproar. In the morning his grace gave me a pistole for my early intelligence, and at night I spent it on two of his servants, at a house of civil conversation, where one of them was received with so warm an affection, that he must be ungrateful if he ever forgets it, for the favour she bestowed on him was of a lasting sort. I don't care to mention his name, but he was coachman to the duke of Roxburgh within this century.

At the siege of the city, Taylor the corporal, whose eye I struck out in defence of my pig, having received the company's money, instead of paying them, lost it at play, and then desperately shot himself through the head.

The 5th day after the reduction of Lisle, lord Auverquerque died; he was field-marshal of the States-general, and son to Elizabeth, countess de Horne, and Lewis de Nassau, lord of Lecq, Beverwaert, and Odyk, natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange, by mademoiselle de Malines.

The French were masters of the Scheld and the canal of Bruges, and had not only broken down the

banks near that town, but had cut several dikes to drown the country from the Scheld, and were strongly intrenched on that river to prevent the passage of the allies, and to favour the siege of Brussels, which the duke of Bavaria undertook the 23rd of November, with a body of about sixteen or seventeen thousand men drawn from the garrison towns on the Scheld and the Maes. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, under the command of monsieur de Paseal, who, being summoned, refused to surrender, made the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence, and by a letter acquainted the duke of Marlborough with the danger he was in. His grace, on the 14th, at the head of a hundred squadrons and fifty battalions, and prince Eugene with nineteen battalions and fifty squadrons, marched to the Scheld to force a passage spite of the enemy's intrenchments. This march was so secret that the French had not notice of the allies directing towards the Scheld, though they had received advice of their crossing the Lis. The count de Lottum, on the 17th, about four in the morning, arrived with the vanguard near to Harlebeck river, and instantly laid two bridges, led over his troops, and drew up in order of battle. The duke of Marlborough, who had found means to pass the river at Kirkhoven, attacked the enemy so briskly at Berchem, that two hundred were slain, six hundred made prisoners, and the rest, with monsieur Souternon, their commander, put to flight. The other French troops, posted near Oudenard, under the command of monsieur Hautefort, soon followed the example of their companions. Thus were rendered fruitless these intrenchments, which had cost the French so much care and fatigue; and the allies, beside a great quantity of stores, provisions, and baggage, with two standards and a pair of kettle-drums, which fell into their hands, had a free passage to march to the relief of Brussels; to which I must now return.

The trenches were opened before it on the 13th; on

the 15th the duke of Bavaria began to batter the town with great fury, between the gates of Namur and Louvain: at ten o'lcock at night five or six thousand men attacked the covered way. The regiment of Dodignies, and the hussars, who defended it, resolutely stood the assault, which was repeated no less than nine times, and the fight having lasted till six in the morning, they left the covered way, and in their turn, falling in with the besiegers, retook all the posts they had lost, and made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, whom they drove almost to their trenches. It was reported as a certainty, that the besiegers lost in this action two thousand five hundred men, and the besieged eight hundred. The next day the elector did nothing further than batter the town; but all the spies agreed in their account of his being resolved to give a general assault the night following, and to cannonade the town with red balls, to make an insurrection of the burghers. Necessary dispositions were immediately made to repel the enemy, and to prevent the threatened conflagration. About eleven at night, when every one expected the signal for the assault, news was brought that the whole camp of the enemy was in motion; and soon after that, they having had advice of the passing the Scheld by the allies, decamped with such precipitation that they left behind them their wounded, to the number of eight hundred men, sixteen pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great deal of baggage, to retreat to Namur.

After the pass of the Rhine, and the raising the siege of Brussels, the allies divided their forces into several corps, that they might more easily subsist, secure a passage over the river, and cut off all the succours that the enemy might endeavour to throw into the citadel of Lisle; against which the trenches were opened on the 18th of October, and as the besiegers wanted powder, the works were carried on by sapping. As soon as they had made themselves

masters of the glacis of the first counterscarp, they there fixed their batteries, and mounted their cannon on the third of November, at night. After having taken several posts, they at last carried the second counterscarp, and mounted on it four pieces of battering cannon to play on the small work near the half-moon: thus far they had proceeded when prince Eugene arrived. He commanded the sap to be continued, without firing a single gun to make a breach; for which reason, when everything was in readiness, on the 8th of December, the governor beat the chamade.

The capitulation being signed the next day, prince Eugene and the prince of Orange, stadtholder, or stadhonder of Frise, made a visit to marshal Bouffler's in the citadel, where they were received with a salute from the French cannon, and the marshal kept them company, when they returned. Next day the garrison marched out, following their baggage; the marshal, who was in the rear, conversed near half an hour with the prince of Frise: all the officers saluted him with their half-pikes, which salutes he returned with his hat.

The duke of Marlborough, after the siege of Brussels was raised, encamped at Alost. While we were here, I observed an officer, who, by his laced clothes, I conjectured to be one of the guards, strolling backwards and forwards in the intervals of the camp; I fancied he had a mind to steal some of our horses, and for that reason watched him narrowly; at length I saw him lead off a mare, belonging to a poor woman, into a ditch, and with her commit, by means of the bank, the most detestable sin that can enter into the thoughts of man. Colonel Irwin and another officer, both of Ingoldsby's regiment, happening at that instant to pass by, caught him in the fact, seized and gave him into the custody of the provost, where he remained till the duke, who had left the army, returned, when

he was tried, condemned to the gallows, and executed accordingly. As some of my readers may not know the provost's office, it will not be amiss to tell them that he attends the camp, and all offenders are put under his care, for which reason he commands a strong guard which goes everywhere with him; and the camp colour-men, who always precede the army, escorted by the forlorn hope, choose the strongest house they can meet with for his quarters, that he may secure his prisoners. When we march, the less criminals are handcuffed in the middle of a guard; but notorious ones are chained hand and foot, and put into the bread-waggons. The mare which this officer was enamoured with, was shot; but the duke first paid the poor woman who owned her, the full value.

Notwithstanding our army was extremely fatigued with the number of motions; that the fruits of our campaign were sufficient to cover our generals with glory; that winter was already begun, and the frosts very sharp, we, who imagined it would be carried no further, found ourselves deceived; for the duke could not think of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the possession of the French. To form the siege of the former, the grand army, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, decamped from Bellem on the last of November, and marched in two columns to Marlebeck and Malle, situated on the lower Scheld; on the other hand, prince Eugene, having five days after passed this river, encamped at Ename, and the town was the next day invested by count de Lottum, the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, and count de Tilly. The duke of Marlborough took up his quarters at Marlebeck, that he might be nearer to three attacks, one of which was on the side of the citadel, another between the imperial gate and that of Brussels, and the third, between the gates of St. Peter and Courtray. While everything was preparing for opening the trenches, which was done on the 13th, and on the

14th, a detachment was sent to attack the Red-house on the canal of Sas van Ghent, where, as it is a place of importance, the French had left a garrison of two hundred men. These forces immediately raised their batteries, and made so furious a fire on the 15th, that the garrison, having in vain offered to surrender, on condition they might go off, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners of war. In the mean while the allies pushed on their works before Ghent, had already got as far as the glacis of the counterscarp, and on the 18th, had a number of batteries of bombs and great guns ready, sufficient to reduce the town to a heap of rubbish; but the garrison not thinking it proper to expose the town to such ruin, sent the prince of Isenghien, and two other captains, to the duke of Marlborough, who allowed them to go out with all the marks of honour. Till the capitulation was got ready to sign, hostages were exchanged, and two gates of the town delivered up to us.

As the garrison had flattered themselves with being succoured, it was stipulated in the capitulation, that it should be void, if, in a limited time, the French should draw near with an army and compel us to raise the siege. In effect, when the court of France had intelligence that Ghent was besieged, marshal Boufflers with several general officers set out from Paris for Douay: but having advice by the way, that the town had capitulated, he turned back.

My husband in the siege was one of the forlorn hope, a body of men under the command of a lieutenant, ordered to lay the ropes and to direct the cutting of the trenches: we seldom expect to see any of these return again; but here the danger was greater than customary, as the night was clear, and they were soon descried by the sentinels; but so remarkably expeditious were our men, that they were all covered before the enemy had got their forces together to oppose them. As I always accompanied my husband, how-

ever dangerous it was, I, as usual, followed him this time, but colonel Hamilton stopping me, and saying, Dear Kit, dont be so forward, I lost sight of him, and was some time hunting about before I could find him; for the ropes being lain, he with his companions were retired into a turnip field, and lay flat on their bellies, expecting the trench, which the workmen were throwing up, to cover them. Major Irwin told me where he was; and both the major and lieutenant Stretton begged hard of me for some beer; but as I had but three flasks, and feared my husband might want, I had no pity for any one else: as the night was very cold, and the ground wet, I had also provided myself with a bottle of brandy, and another of gin, for my dear Richard's refreshment. When I left these officers, I met a lieutenant known by the nickname of A—— and Pockets; a spent musket-ball had grazed on, and scratched his forehead, which his fright magnified to a cannon-ball. He desired I would show him to a surgeon; but his panic was so great, that I believe, had he been examined at both ends, he stood more in need of having his breeches shifted than his wound dressed. In his fright he left his hat and wig, but they being found and restored him, and he at length assured his wound was no way dangerous, recovered his small share of spirits, but never his reputation; for he was called by every one poltroon, and soon after broke as a coward. Leaving this Cotswold lion, I went to the turnip field, where I found my husband in the front rank, to whom my liquors were very comfortable. We stayed here till the trench was ready for us. The next morning, as I was standing by colonel Gossedge, he received a shot through the body; I gave him some beer and a dram, and carried him, though it was very dangerous, to colonel Folke's quarters, for which piece of service the gentleman was extremely thankful, and promised, if he recovered, to reward me handsomely; but he died in three days.

On my leaving him, I was sent for by the duke of Argyle, to inform him what men we had lost. The next day, a drum of our regiment went into a very dangerous place to ease nature; I cautioned him against it, as I had observed the enemy pointed at or near that place: he did not heed my advice; but when he was buttoning up his breeches, a cannon-ball took off both his arms. The place where he rashly exposed himself, was so very dangerous, that not a man would venture to go to his assistance. I ran, therefore, and carried him off to a surgeon, under whose care he was in a fair way of doing well, but a cold he got killed him.

At a mile's distance from the town, out of danger, as I thought, of any shot from thence, and near the camp, I pitched my tent, which I stored from a garden belonging to a deserted brewhouse, that I had taken possession of. I had filled my tent with so many potatoes, carrots, turnips, &c. that I left but just room enough to sit down close by the door. One day a drake-shot from the enemy came in there, went through my tent into my garden, where I had turned my mare and an officer's horse, and killed the latter; I was luckily then a foraging, or I had infallibly been killed, as I always sat directly fronting my tent door. This obliged me to remove my tent further off, that I might be out of danger. While the siege continued, we had, one day, so severe and incessant rain, that not a man in the army had a dry thread on his back, which was followed by so severe a frost in the night, that a fire I had made before my tent, to dry myself and husband, I really believe, saved the lives of a number of our men. I burnt no less than forty faggots that night, which colonel Godfrey gave me leave to take from a stack in his quarters. Two of our sentinels were found frozen to death.

When the two gates were given up, as I have already said, I got leave to go the day following into the town, where I made fifty shillings of the roots I carried

in from the garden; for the garrison having secured to themselves what was in the town, and our men destroyed what was in the country, the scarcity made the burghers ready to give me my own price. The garrison went out of the town on the 22nd of December, fourteen thousand in number, with drums beating, colours flying, carrying with them six pieces of cannon, and were conducted by the way of Gaveren to Tournay. The next day the duke of Marlborough entered the town, and was complimented at the gate by the magistracy, who presented him the keys in a gold basin. The burghers, who had received the French with open arms, changed sides with their fortune, and made public rejoicings and thanksgivings in the churches for their departure, as a deliverance ardently wished for. These rejoicings were redoubled, on the news which soon after was brought, that the French had abandoned Bruges, and all the neighbouring posts. When the garrison of this town heard that Ghent, which was well fortified, had capitulated, finding themselves summoned by a trumpet in the duke of Marlborough's name, they prepared for their retreat in earnest, fearing a longer delay might render it impossible: wherefore, on the 22nd of October, at night, they left the town, and withdrew on the side of Dixmude and Nieuport. At the same time the French abandoned Fort Plassendal, the village of Leffinghen, where they were intrenched, and all the posts they had in those quarters. No sooner had the enemy quitted Bruges, but the magistrates sent deputies to the duke of Marlborough to make their submission to king Charles. His grace received their submission, and garrisoned the town with two thousand men. Thus ended this glorious campaign; the army was ordered into winter-quarters; our regiment stayed in Ghent, where I got a comfortable living by cooking for, and selling beer to the soldiers. My horse cost me nothing this winter, having procured a sufficient

stock of provision and straw at my first entrance into the town.

My husband having, by my interest, obtained leave to go out of town, which no garrison soldier can do under pain of death, without permission, we went out of the gate called the Sas, from the adjacent river of that name, to take a view of the country, and met a poor woman, who wept bitterly; I asked the reason of her tears, and she told me that she had three small children at home, and no way of providing for them, but by running geneva into the town; that the excise officers had lately seized a parcel, which had almost ruined her, and that now being on the point of venturing all she had, her late loss, and the fear she was in of being entirely undone, made her burst into a fit of crying. In the Low Countries no duty is paid for what is not brought into a fortified town, but at the bringing anything within the gates it must pay a duty to the officers, stationed there to receive it, and to prevent defrauding the customs. We endeavoured to comfort the poor creature, and told her if she would step into the public house, which was near us, we would do our best to help her in running the geneva into the town. She very thankfully went in with us; she had eleven bladders, each would hold a stoop, ten of them were filled with geneva, and the eleventh with nastiness, which the country people keep in pits as the best manure for flax. I then thus divided the bladders; three I gave to my husband, two to the woman, the other five, and that designed for the officers, I took into my custody: three of the geneva bladders were tied round my waist next my skin, two round my neck, so that they fell under each arm, and were covered with my cloak, and the cleanly one I carried in my left hand, and though visibly, I pretended to endeavour to conceal it. I went on in the direct road, but ordered them to go round a little lane, and when they saw the officers busy with me, to make a push for the

town. I made for the gate; the officers, to my wish, perceived the bladder, and came up to me; I retreated, and keeping out of their reach, lured them away from, till I saw my comrades pretty near to, the gate; I then suffered them to come up to me, who demanded my geneva, laying hold of the bladder; I soon got it out of his hand who seized it, fell on my knees, and began a lamentable story of my poverty, large family, and sick children, for whose cure I had made a hard shift to purchase it. I amused them with this deplorable story till I saw my comrades within the barrier; but finding they were inexorable, and resolved to plunder me, I took my scissars, which hung by my side, and cutting the bladder, said, Since you must have it, e'en take it, and flung the contents in his face. One of his companions was coming up to seize me, but I showed him another bladder with my scissars, and he retreated, as 'tis probable he had an aversion to perfumes. I had now a free and open passage into the town, which I entered triumphant, with my bladder in my hand. I was no sooner in the town, but my husband and the woman met me; she was glad to see me safe, but when she found her liquors were so too, the poor creature wept for joy: and on relating my adventure, her laughter was as excessive, and had the same effect. This success animated us to a second attempt. The excisemen saw me, and cried out, There's the retailer of soil; I answered, They should find I dealt by wholesale, if ever they offered to disturb me. In short, we often passed with our cargoes, none daring to molest us; till a new officer, who did not know me, was set on by the others; but as I always went with a charge, he repented his temerity, for I gave him so fetid a reception, that I thought he would have brought his heart up. His brethren abused me at a distance, but did not care to come to a close engagement; their language, however, was so provoking, that I threatened for the

future to carry a pistol, and blow their brains out, the first time they durst come within my reach. I did indeed arm myself as I had threatened, but I had neither powder nor ball; however, as they had been told my history, I was so terrible to these poltroons, that I believe I might have kept them in awe with a black pudding. Beside the above, I fell upon another stratagem to deceive those harpies the officers of the customs. It was this; I had a large spaniel which I brought up from a puppy; he was of the water breed, and had such a rough coat, that every half year it fetched me three shillings from a hatter. This dog, who had been taught to fetch and carry, we used to go out with, furnished with oily cakes, to the town ditch, where we lay concealed, my husband and the dog on one side, I on the other in the weeds, till the smugglers came with horseloads of brandy, &c. and in small kegs; two or three of these we tied together with a rope, and giving the dog the end in his mouth, he would, on my husband's calling, swim over to him, and he rewarded him with a cake, after which he would return at my call, with the empty rope. This method was repeated till all was got over, which they carried into the town, and we retired till morning, when we entered the gate publicly. The smugglers paid us three crowns a night for our dog and attendance. At this place I was with child, and longed for eels, which one Hugh Jones ventured his life, by going out of town without leave, to get for me, by robbing the wicker baskets in the moat: I mention this because he was afterwards my second husband, and often had attempted my virtue, in the life of my first, who for the tenderness he showed me in this action, bequeathed me to him in case of survivorship. Indeed he took all opportunities to gain my affections, and convince me of his own; and I must acknowledge it was to his assiduity and tenderness, that next to God, I owed the preserva-

tion of my life, when I was ill and not able to help myself; in which time he also took care of and supported my mare.

There was at this time a pretty young fellow in garrison with us, a volunteer, but in whose regiment I cannot readily call to mind; he was the younger son of a gentleman of good fortune, who gave him so handsome an allowance, that he maintained a servant and two horses; dressed as well as any officer, and kept the best company; he was very forward in every action; never shunned, but rather courted danger; and, in the midst of the greatest, always showed a great composure of mind in his countenance: he was not above eighteen, but very reserved, and somewhat haughty. This gentleman resented the freedom I took with some officers where he was in company, and told me I was very impertinent. The affront nettled me so much, that I called him a *petit maitre*, and said, if it would not be a disgrace to me to set my wit to boys, I would teach him better manners, by giving him the correction his ill breeding called for. He answered with a pish only, and turning his back on me, said to a captain, You see the fruits of making mean people familiar: you ought indeed to bear with it, because you have encouraged her taking such liberties, and those brought her impertinence upon you; but 'tis hard upon me, who always have avoided her. You will do well, replied I, to be careful in avoiding me for the future; and went home in a passion, dressed myself in one of my husband's suits, (for he had two very handsome ones I had bought him out of my capital, which was not yet quite exhausted,) put on my silver-hilted sword, and went to a young woman's house whom the cadet visited. I asked for her, and being introduced, desired to speak with her in private. As soon as she had carried me into a room, and seated herself, desiring me to sit, she asked my business. Madam, said I, to be short with you, I have often

seen, and as often admired you; I am now come to tell you the passion you have inspired, which I can no longer conceal; it gives me too great torture. I know you have some engagements with a young English cadet, which have hurt your reputation: but to give you the most convincing proof of my fondness, if you will promise to cast him off, and never see him more, I will not only marry you, but maintain you as the wife of an English gentleman of fortune, as I pretend, and you will find me to be, and promise on my honour, never to reproach you with your former life. Sir, said she, you are very free with my character. Madam, replied I, not more so than the world; for I learned it from common fame. Which, answered my damsel, you will allow a common liar: however, sir, you talk so much like a man of honour, that I can forgive the liberty you have taken, and desire a little time to consider on what you have proposed. I told her, what she might term but a small space, a man as passionately in love as I was, would count an age: I will give you to consider, continued I, till to-morrow ten o'clock, which is not less, by my computation, than a month's delay; and rising up, saluted her, and took my leave. I was punctual to my hour the next morning, and she told me, she accepted my conditions, and as a proof that she would be just to them, said, I last night refused to see the cadet, notwithstanding he was very urgent. I stayed with her three hours, in which time I had promised her mountains; a life which should be but one continued round of pleasure, and an affection which no time should have force to alter. During my visit, I had the satisfaction to hear her servant tell the cadet, who came to see his mistress, that she was not at home, and that she had left word, in case he came to the house, in her absence, that she should take it as a favour, his giving over visiting her, which would beside save him a fruitless trouble. He said, I suppose she has some new fa-

vourite, I shall find him out; and flung away in a rage, which gave me the most sensible pleasure. I took my leave soon after, and was going home to shift my dress, when I spied my cadet at a little distance, who watched his mistress's door. He hastened after me, and asked what business I had in that house which he saw me come out of. Sir, said I, By what authority do you ask me? Here, said he, is my commission to examine you, laying his hand on his sword; and I, doing the like, replied, Here is my reason for not answering you. We both drew, the moment my husband passed by, who, knowing me, also drew, and got between us, saying, My dear Kitty, what's the meaning of this? At these words, the cadet, looking earnestly in my face, knew me, put up his sword, laughed heartily, and taking me by the hand, said, Let us be friends for the future; I am glad I have not a more dangerous rival; come Kit, I'll give you and your husband a bottle and bird for dinner. You see, said I, what it is to affront me; for I have made but two visits to your mistress, and in them have made such a progress, that you have been twice refused entrance. An officer of our acquaintance coming by, he prevailed on him to keep us company. The cadet carried us to the Couronne Imperiale, where he ordered a handsome dinner; after which we drank a hearty bottle, were very merry with the manner of my revenge; he begged pardon for having affronted me, promised he would be no more guilty, and entreated me to undeceive his mistress, whom he could easily forgive agreeing to honourable and such alluring conditions as I had offered. I reconciled them, and we were all good friends the little time he stayed in the Low Countries, which was but ten days after; for his elder brother dying by a hurt he received by a fall in hunting, his father sent for him over, and he carried his lady with him to England.

I have already said that a very great frost immedi-

ately followed the taking of Ghent, and that two of our sentinels were found frozen to death. This frost continued, and was so terribly severe, that a number of people, fruit trees, and sown seed, perished by the cold. This hard winter occasioned a very great scarcity, and excessively raised the price of all manner of provisions, especially in France, where almost all the vines were frost-nipped to the very roots: so that of many years before, that kingdom had not been in so deplorable a situation. The treasury was exhausted by the expense of the war; trade was interrupted by the number of ships the two maritime powers kept constantly cruising in all parts of the seas to prevent the importation of goods; the farmer was not only incapable of paying his rent, but even of supplying the towns with necessary provisions; in a word, they were in the utmost desolation. To the cries of the miserable harassed people were joined public acts of devotion to appease the anger of heaven, to deprecate their then present miseries, and to obtain a speedy peace, which they looked upon as the only remedy to these oppressive evils. The king gave his people to understand that he was sensibly touched with their sufferings, and declared that he was inclined to give them peace, whatever it cost him. In effect, he sent messieurs Voisin and Rouille, to Holland, in appearance upon the affair of the fishery; but in earnest, to set on foot a negotiation with the allies. The secret was so closely kept all the time the conferences were held at the Hague, that no one had any certain knowledge of what was upon the carpet; but the number of extraordinary couriers, which were observed to pass and repass, gave some inkling of a treaty of peace, and hopes of a happy issue; more especially when they saw the duke of Marlborough, who had been at all the conferences, go for England on the 2nd of May, and return again on the 15th, N.S., accompanied by lord Townshend, whom the queen had honoured with the character of envoy

extraordinary, to treat on a peace. The French king sent messieurs Torcy and Pajot, to hasten its conclusion. Notwithstanding the protest made by king Philip, that he would never renounce the crown of Spain, but was resolved, on the contrary, to maintain his right to it by the sword to the last drop of his blood, the conferences were carried on more briskly than ever, and sometimes protracted to midnight. On the 28th of May, N. S., articles were prepared and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the allies. Beside a great number of towns in the Low Countries, on the Rhine and elsewhere, which France gave up by these articles, Charles was declared in them lawful king of all the Spanish monarchy; and it was agreed that Philip and his family should quit that kingdom by the 1st of September, and in case of his refusal, that the king of France should join his arms to those of the allies, to compel him by force.

Messieurs Torcy and Pajot set out for the court of France with the preliminaries agreed upon; but at the time that every one thought the peace in a manner concluded, advice came that Lewis XIV. could never consent to assist in dethroning his grandson, and for that reason had rejected the articles: thus vanished all the hopes conceived of the pacification of Europe.

The negotiations of peace had not suspended the necessary preparations for continuing the war; upon their being broken off, Mr. Rouille set out on his return to France on the 9th of June, N. S., and the duke of Marlborough on the same day for the army.

The French being intrenched near Arras, in a camp covered with woods and marshes, which rendered it impracticable to approach them, the duke turned back upon Tournay, a very strong town, where monsieur de Surville commanded a garrison of four thousand men. We invested the place on the 27th of June, N. S., and while preparations were making to open the trenches, the prince of Orange, stadtholder of Frise, at the head

of thirty squadrons and twelve battalions, appeared before, and made himself master of St. Amand, and at the same time another detachment took Fort de la Scarpe sword in hand. In the interim, the line of circumvallation was finished, and several thousand fascines, gabions, palisades, and other materials necessary for the works, were got together, and the trench was opened on the 7th of July, N. S., before the castle, by four battalions and two thousand workmen under the command of count Lottum; before the hornwork of the seven fountains, by three battalions and two thousand workmen, commanded by general Schulemburg; and by general Fagel, at the head of the like number of soldiers and pioneers near the gate of Marville. Notwithstanding the diligence of the besiegers, the siege was likely to prove a very tedious one, because the boats on which the artillery was embarked could not get up the Scheld higher than Oudenard on account of the shallowness of the water, and the banks raised by the French the preceding year to turn its course, several of which were yet standing. However, this obstacle was obviated by cutting a new canal; and the artillery being at length arrived, we began on the 13th to batter the outworks. Assisted by the fire of our batteries, general Fagel pushed on his works to the very brink of the ditch, which on the 17th he began to fill up. Count Lottum was on the same day pretty near as far advanced with his; and the night before, baron de Schulemburg having carried the hornworks sword in hand, made a lodgment there, and moreover possessed himself of a neighbouring ravelin. Monsieur de Surville finding himself thus straitened, on the 28th, between seven and eight in the evening, hung out the white flag at the three attacks. The capitulation was signed the next morning, and the garrison withdrew into the citadel, all the works of which were mined.

At the expiration of the truce agreed upon, to give the garrison time to retire into the citadel, count Lot-

tum and the baron de Schulemburg attacked it in two different places, and a re-enforcement of thirty battalions and six squadrons were sent them from the grand army. Four days after the opening the trench, monsieur de Ravignan, sent by the French king, arrived in the camp of the besiegers, and having obtained leave to speak to one of the officers of the citadel, the governor sent the next day a project of agreement to the allies, by which he engaged to surrender on the 5th of September, if he was not before succoured; all hostilities were to cease during that interval, between the besiegers and besieged, and a gate of the citadel was to be given up to the former on the 8th of August, if the king of France approved the agreement; for whose approbation monsieur de Ravignan returned to the court; but nothing was concluded upon, because the king insisted on extending the truce to the two armies; wherefore the fire was again begun, and surely never was so much fire seen from beneath the earth. As the citadel was everywhere mined round, notwithstanding all the industry and fatigue of the allies to discover them, they played off no less than thirty-eight, at only count Lottum's attack, in twenty-six days' time; so that we often saw hundreds of men at once fly into the air, and fall down again piecemeal, or buried alive; and if any were dug out living, they were miserably shattered in their limbs, or half roasted. Very often the miners on either side, met and fought with as much fury under ground, as they did in the trenches: however, the place was so violently attacked, that the governor hung out the white ensign on the 31st of August N. S., but as the besiegers would allow him no other terms than his surrendering prisoner of war, he broke off the parley, and threatened he would blow all up before he would surrender on such terms. On this the siege was once more begun, and the governor given to understand, that if he persisted in his design he must expect no quarter. This threat made him change

his desperate resolution, and he accepted the conditions offered him; but with a promise that the garrison should be exchanged as soon as possible, for a like number of prisoners taken by the French.

My husband's regiment was one of those that attacked the citadel. One day lord Cobham coming into the trench, ordered the engineer to point a gun at a windmill between us and the citadel, and promised a guinea to whoever fired and brought it down; I immediately snatched the match out of the man's hand who was going to fire, clapped it to the touchhole, and down came the windmill. Major Petit, before I fired, bid me take care the cannon did not recoil upon me, or break the drums of my ears, which I had forgot to stop. I was in too much haste to get the guinea, and not minding the caution, I was beat backwards, and had the noise of the cannon a long while after in my ears. The officers could not refrain laughing to see me set on my backside; but as I was not hurt, I had, according to the proverb, Let him laugh that wins, the most reason to be merry about the mouth, for lord Cobham, always better than his word, gave me two guineas, saying, I was a bold wench, instead of one he promised me; general Fagel gave me another, and four officers gave me a ducat apiece.

Soon after, captain Brown mounting the trench, had his leg so miserably shattered by a musket-shot, that the surgeon was obliged to cut it off. His servants and nurses not having the courage to hold the candle, I performed that office, and was very intent on the operation, which no way shocked me, as it was absolutely necessary.

During this siege, or indeed any other, I never lost an opportunity of marauding; to this end I was furnished with a grappling iron and a sword, for I must acquaint my reader, that, on the approach of an army, the boors throw their plate, copper, &c., into wells; their linen they bury in chests, and for their own

security they get into fortified towns, or under the shelter of some strong place. With my grapple I searched all the wells I met with, and got good booty, sometimes kitchen utensils, brass pails, pewter dishes, &c.; sometimes a silver spoon. With my sword, which I carried to discover what was buried, I bored the ground, where I found it had been lately stirred. This I learned of the Dutch soldiers in Ireland when king William was there; for they discovered by this method, and took away a chest of linen my mother had hid under ground, with a large quantity of wheat. While I was one day busied in search of plunder, I heard behind me a great burst, like a sudden short clap of thunder, and turning nimbly round, I saw the air full of shattered limbs of men. This happened, as I was informed at my return, by a spark from a pipe of tobacco setting fire to a bomb, by which fifty shells and twenty-four of our men were blown up; but luckily, our magazine of powder, though near the same place, escaped. As I have often said, wherever my husband was ordered upon duty, I always followed him, and he was sometimes of the party that went to search for and draw the enemy's mines; I was often engaged with their party under ground, where our engagements were more terrible than in the field, being sometimes near suffocated with the smoke of straw which the French fired to drive us out; and the fighting with pickaxes and spades, in my opinion, was more dangerous than with swords. I have, in the journal of the siege, taken notice of the number of mines sprung; one of which blew up four hundred of our men, and another narrowly missed carrying up a whole regiment, which was just drawn off as it was fired, so that the designed execution was by accident prevented, and only eight men lost.

After having hastily filled up the works before Tournay, the prince of Hesse-Cassel began his march at the head of sixteen thousand men, to invest Mons, the

capital of Hainault, and to take possession of some posts in its neighbourhood, especially along the river Trouille, which runs by that town. On the 4th of September he was followed by the rest of the army, but the rains and the straitness of the ways was such an hindrance to our march, that the French had time enough, having also decamped, to march to Blangies, and post their horse in a plain between two woods, in which they had placed their infantry. The allies, at their arrival, found the enemy thus posted, and resolved to attack and drive them from their camp: but as they would undertake nothing, without the assent of the deputies of the States, who were not yet come up; the French took the advantage of that time to make their camp inaccessible, by covering it with a triple intrenchment. Notwithstanding this new obstacle, the allies prepared for a battle, early in the morning, on the 11th, N. S.; and with all imaginable resolution, at eight o'clock, marched up to the intrenchments. Our left wing, commanded by the duke, charged with such bravery, that we drove the French out of the two first intrenchments, cutting all to pieces that opposed us; but could not force the third, which was defended by a great many pieces of cannon, and felled trees laid athwart: however, we some time maintained the ground we had got upon the enemy, though exposed to the fire of their artillery, which swept down whole companies at a time; but at length, seeing our number terribly diminished, we were obliged to abandon the two intrenchments we had carried. In the mean while the foot of the right, commanded by prince Eugene, having made through the wood into the plains, after a most obstinate resistance of the French, gave the horse an opportunity also to force the intrenchment joining to the wood. The horse on both sides were engaged with an unparalleled fury: but the allies continually getting ground, as their troops entered the intrenchments, the advantage was visibly on their side: they

put to flight the main battle, and by that gave an opportunity to their left wing, which had returned to the attack, to recover the two intrenchments, which they could not before keep, and also to carry the third: this was followed by an entire defeat of the French army; which, at three in the afternoon, took to flight, and in its turn, by the confusion they fled in, lost a great number of men, so that the slaughter on both sides was really terrible; for, as far as I could see, the ground was covered with dead and dying men. The allies lost fourteen thousand men killed, wounded, or prisoners: the French nineteen thousand.

The night before the battle of Taisnieres, lieutenant-general Dedem went off with a detachment to throw himself into St. Guilain, which the duke of Marlborough was assured, the French garrison had abandoned; but the general, in his march, receiving certain advice to the contrary, instead of two hundred foot, which he designed to send thither from Genap, drew from thence five hundred, and sustained them with two squadrons. Colonel Haxhuisen, who commanded this detachment, sent a drum to summon the garrison, having, as he drew near the town, extended his front, that he might make a greater show of number: on a refusal to surrender, he gave the assault that very day; and after a quarter of an hour's dispute he carried a barricade, and advanced behind a house on the right of the battery; on which the chamade was beat; but as they had not done it soon enough, they were forced to surrender prisoners of war.

Our army now invested Mons, into which the French found means, eight days after the battle, to introduce a convoy of ammunitions, provisions, money, and a thousand men; the trenches were opened on the 25th over against fort Berteaumont, by the engineer general Hartel, with four battalions, and two thousand workmen; and before the gate of Havre by two battalions, and also two thousand workmen under the command

of the engineer De Bauffe. We were terribly hindered by the rains, which obliged us to bottom the trenches with fascines, and to drain them by cutting a long gut, which reached as far as the Trouille: but notwithstanding all obstacles, we pushed on our approaches so briskly, that having finished our batteries, we were ready to give the assault to the hornwork near Berteaumont gate, on the 20th of October: the garrison, however, prevented us, by beating the chamade. Deputies came out of the town, and returned again by eight o'clock with the articles of capitulation, which they brought back the next morning with the governor's approbation. At eleven o'clock we were put into possession of Nimy gate; two days after the garrison marched out; the French were conducted to Maubeuge, the Spaniards and Bavarians to Namur. The reduction of this town terminated the campaign in Flanders.

When we left Tournay, and before the investing of Mons, as the army marched towards the French lines, I chose to go with the camp color-men, who, attended by the forlorn hope, march at so considerable a distance before the army, that they are often cut off before any force can come up to their assistance; which, though it makes it the most dangerous post, it is the most profitable, if there is any plunder to be got, as there are but few to share it. In our march, I espied at some distance a great house, which I, advancing before the camp color-men, ran to, leaving my horse to the care of a sick sergeant, who was glad of the opportunity to ride. I here found six couple of fowls with their legs tied, a basket of pigeons, and four sheep, which were also tied and ready to be carried off; but I suppose, upon our appearance, the people made the best of their way to secure things of greater value. One of the sheep I killed, dressed, cut off a leg, and all the fat. The other three I loosed, and turned into the yard; by the time I had done, our men came up with

me, and I put the carcass of the sheep on my mare before the sergeant; the fowls I hung about my neck; drove my sheep before me, and so marched to the place designed for the camp, called Havre. Being here arrived, while they were fixing boughs for the disposition of the camp, and marking out ground for every regiment, I pitched my tent near a deserted public house, allotted for colonel Hamilton's quarters; turned my sheep to grass, and hung up my mutton on a tree to cool: I then went into the colonel's quarters, over which, as soon as it was appointed, a guard was set; but by a bribe, I struck him so blind, that he could not see me and my husband's comrades, who lent a friendly hand, carry off a large quantity of faggots, hay and straw for my mare and my own bed; fill all my empty flasks with beer, and roll off a whole barrel to my tent. Having made these prizes, I cut up my mutton, laid by a shoulder to roast, the neck and breast to make broth; dug a hole with a hatchet to boil my pot in, which, the fire being made, I set on with the mutton and sweet herbs, and was enjoying myself by a glorious fire, when the army came up. Colonel Hamilton and major Erwood came to my fire, and were not a little surprised to see I had gotten so many things in readiness. I showed them my provisions of all sorts; upon which the colonel, suspecting that I had plundered his quarters, asked where I had got my barrel of strong beer. I told him, that falling in with some boors, I drove them before me, and made them bring me what I wanted; to which he civilly replied, D—n you, you are a lying devil. Come, said I, you mutton-monger, will you give me handsel? They called for a gallon of beer, and drinking a little, gave the rest among some of the men, and ordered the shoulder of mutton to be roasted, which I did by pitching two forked sticks into the ground, putting it on a jointed spit, and setting a soldier's wife to turn it. I made four crowns apiece of my sheep, besides the fat, which I sold to a woman

who made mould candles for the men, and made a good penny of my fowls and pigeons. A body of troopers and some hussars, being ordered out to reconnoitre in the woods at Taisnieres, before the enemy intrenched themselves, and to cover the foragers, with strict charge to return at the firing of a cannon, I, being one of the foragers, took my mare along with me, leaving another horse which I had bought of a hussar in an orchard, near brigadier Lalo's quarters, and digging a hole, I buried my money. When we were some distance from the camp, I pushed forward, on which quarter-master Hankey and lieutenant Mackenny bid me not be too venturesome; I answered, that I saw no danger, and hastened on to a large house, which I entered, and found a bed ready made, two or three tubs of flower; an oven full of hot bread, a considerable quantity of bacon and beef hanging in the chimney, a basket full of cocks and hens, with two pots of butter. I emptied the feathers out of the tick to cover my mare with, lest the hot bread should burn her back, then threw the feathers out of the bolster, into one end of which I put my bread, and into the other my beef and bacon; my pots of butter I slung on each side of her, took my fowls in my hand, and mounted; which I had scarcely done when I heard the signal gun, an alarm given the foragers, that the whole body of the enemy was coming upon us; and that their seeming to march to the left, was only to cover the filing off their infantry into the woods. The terror with which the foragers were struck at the news is hardly credible; the fields were strewed with corn, hay, and utensils, which they had not the courage to take along with them; nay some, whose horses were at a little distance, rather chose to lose, than venture to fetch them: I jogged on towards the army, but seeing a fine truss of hay lying, and fearing my horses might want, the danger could not make me withstand the temptation; I leaped off my mare, clapped it upon her, and mounting again, got

safe to the place where the army lay. I was surprised to see all in motion; however, I stayed to kill my fowls, fetch my horse, and money that I had buried, strike my tent, with which, and other things, I loaded him, and followed the army. My husband being in the rear, I had an opportunity of conversing with him; he was extremely melancholy, and told me this engagement would most certainly be the last he should ever see: I endeavoured to laugh him out of this notion, but he insisted upon it that he should be killed, which proved but too true. In our march, so heavy a rain fell, that we were ankle deep, and seeing a little child of one of my husband's comrades, I took it up lest it should be lost in the deep clay. At night, when in sight of the enemy, our army halted, and lay that night on some fallow ground, on which were many heaps of dung, and he was a happy man who could get one to sleep upon. I left the army, and went to a great house in the rear to dress my provisions; I led my horses into the house, which by the help of one Armstrong, a butcher, and of lord Orkney's French baker, I unloaded. Next I made a great wood fire, with what I found, dried myself and the child, and laid it on some straw before the fire. I had now leisure to look out for forage for my beasts, and found some flax, hay, and clover; with the first I littered them, threw the other before them, and locking them up in a handsome parlour, thought of dressing some victuals; in order to which I went to the well for water, and found a bucket, which is not common, for the boors, as they had several things in the wells, commonly cut them away. In letting down my bucket I thought it struck against something which sounded like a brass kettle; I was not out; for, letting down my drag, I brought one up; and at the next throw I fetched out a brass pail, in which was a silver quart mug in a fish-skin case. I made several other casts, but brought up nothing more: wherefore, leaving the well, having taken what water

I wanted, I set it on the fire, pulled my fowls, which, with some of my hung beef and bacon, I clapped into the pot, and then stepped into the garden to cut some sprouts, washed and put them in, and leaving the care of the cooking to Armstrong and the baker, strolled over the house for plunder; but after searching several rooms, I found nothing worth carrying off, but what was too cumbersome; wherefore I visited the cellar, where I found, to my great joy, a barrel of excellent strong beer. I immediately ran up for, and filled my pails; as I was returning with these full, I happened to stumble against an inward cellar-door, which, flying open, discovered another small one: I hastened up with my beer, full of hopes of finding somewhat better worth within the little door. I found two rundlets and two quart bottles of vinegar, and two more of very good brandy, with which I filled my flasks, and placed all my booty in the parlour, where my beasts were shut up. My provisions being ready, I clapped them and a quantity of beer on one of my mares, having first regaled my two assistants; who were not a little thankful, for provision was then so scarce in the army, a guinea and half was offered for an ounce of bread, and there was no probability of getting any supply till the battle was over, which we expected would be, and, as I have already shown, was, very bloody. I filled the child's belly, filled her apron with victuals, and taking her with me, left her with her father, whom I soon found, and who was very ill of an ague, lying in a miserable condition on a heap of dung. He would fain have had me take care of her, but I could not undertake the charge. Leaving her, I went in search of my husband; and after a considerable time, as there was so great a fog I could scarce see a yard before me, I met with one of our regiment, who cried out, Here comes the picture of plenty. I asked for my husband, and he showed him fast asleep, with his head on his comrade's backside. I awakened him, and bid him

ask what officers or soldiers he thought fit to eat with him, especially such as he was obliged to; for I had brought a large quantity of provisions. I set the bread, butter, and beef, before his comrades, who, sitting down on the dung, made a hearty meal, though they had no tablecloth, knives, &c.; reserving the bacon, fowls, and sprouts, for my husband and the invited officers, who were colonel and captain Hamilton, colonel Irwin, captain Ross, major Maclane, and colonel Folks. Two fowls, some bacon and beef, I gave to my husband and his sergeant; when every one of these were satisfied, I gave the remainder of my provisions to some young recruits, who, not being inured to hardships, were ready to perish with hunger. I had set apart some pullets with eggs for the general officers, and sought out my lord Orkney, whom I found with the generals, Lumley, Webb, Withers, and lord North and Grey. As soon as lord Orkney saw me, he asked if I had any beer to give him. I answered, I had enough, at his lordship's service, but I thought he had better eat before he drank. That's true, said my lord, if I knew where to get it, but I don't believe there is anything in the army. You guess pretty near the truth, I replied, for I don't believe any one has a morsel except myself, and if you could take up with fowl, bacon, sprouts, and hung beef, I have them ready at your service; and set them before him. This was a very agreeable surprise to them all; they tore the meat with their fingers, and eat very heartily; but wanting water to mix with their wine, on some soldier's refusal, I went to the well within musket-shot of the enemy, and fetched them some. I remember one of the company proposed a motion of the army, not only without the duke of Marlborough's order, but contrary to his express command, which was to keep ourselves in readiness to march on the word given. Lord Orkney said, they ought to wait till his grace's orders came,

for he durst say he knew better than any in the company when to give them, and thought it was their duty to wait. On this, another, whose name I purposely conceal, said, that his grace was gone into the wood in close conference with his nephew the duke of Berwick, and wished it was not to sell the army of the allies: Lord Orkney, with some warmth, answered, that it was ungenerous as unjust to harbour a thought so injurious to the duke's honour, and so contrary to his nature; that he would be bound body for body, that he was incapable of anything which could cast a blemish on his exalted character, than which no man breathing could, with justice, boast a greater, nay, he knew none that could equal him. The duke of Argyle joined the company, and soon after, went open-breasted among the men to encourage them to behave as became Englishmen; you see, brothers, said he, I have no concealed armour, I am equally exposed with you, and I require none to go where I shall refuse to venture: remember you fight for the liberties of all Europe, and the glory of your nation, which shall never suffer by my behaviour; and I hope the character of a Briton is as dear to every one of you. To do him justice, he always fought were the danger was greatest, and encouraged the soldiers more by his actions than by his words. The duke of Marlborough had indeed a conference with the duke of Berwick, which gave him an opportunity to view the enemy's batteries, which was of signal service to us. At his return, he gave orders for the cutting fascines, which were to fill up a morass between us and the French; after which, a battery was raised, and our guns playing upon the French battery soon dismounted the cannon which the duke had noted, and was covered by the wood, by which the intrenchment was more accessible. I have already given an account of this battle, wherefore I shall only observe, that the English guards first entered the wood, and,

though they behaved gallantly, were repulsed with prodigious loss; our regiment seconded their attack, and was as roughly handled.

I entered the wood with small beer for my husband; though the shot and bark of trees flew thicker than my reader, if he has not seen action, can well imagine; not a few pieces of the latter fell on my neck, and gave me no small uneasiness by getting down my stays. My dog, which I have before mentioned, at the entrance of the wood, howled in a pitiful manner, which surprised me, as it was unusual. A man near me, who was easing nature, said, Poor creature, he would fain tell you that his master is dead. How, said I, is he dead! I know not, replied he, if he is dead or not, but I am sure he is very much wounded. This brought into my mind his foreboding that he should be killed in this battle. I was almost out of my wits; but though I feared the worst, my hopes of finding him alive supported me. I ran among the dead, and turned over near two hundred, among whom I found brigadier Lalo, sir Thomas Pendergrass, and a great number more of my best friends, before I found my husband's body, which a man, who was a stranger to me, though I was not unknown to him, was stripping. At my approach he went off, and left his booty, fearing the effects of the rage I was in at the sight of my dead husband; and I certainly had killed him, could I have laid my hands on him; for I was in so great a fury, that I bit out a great piece out of my right arm, tore my hair, threw myself on his corpse, and should have put a period to my life had I had any instrument of death. Here I lay some time before my tears flowed, which at length gushed forth in such abundance, that I believe the stream saved my life, at least my senses. While I was deploring my loss, captain Ross came by, who, seeing my agony, could not forbear sympathising with me, and dropped some tears, protesting that the poor woman's grief touched him nearer than the

loss of so many brave men. This compassion from the captain gave me the nickname of Mother Ross; by which I became better known than by that of my husband. After my tears had a little relieved me, I took my husband's body, laid it across my mare, which I led into the ground, dug a grave, buried him, and would have thrown myself into the same pit, had not some of his comrades, who were at hand, prevented me. Seeing I was prevented, I mounted my mare, though almost naked, for I had in my distraction torn off great part of my clothes, and pushed into the wood, notwithstanding I had no arms, to wreak my vengeance on the French, of whom our army was then in pursuit, resolving to tear in pieces whoever fell into my hands: nay, had I had strength and opportunity, I would have given no quarter to any man in the French army. I was running full speed after them, and was near Mambeuge when captain Usher laid hold of my mare and forced me back, or I had infallibly been either killed or taken. The former I did not think a misfortune; but mine did not end with my pursuit, for my distraction rendered me incapable of looking after my business, giving myself up to my grief and tears, which employed my whole time for seven days, in transports running to my husband's grave and endeavouring to remove the earth with my hands, that I might have another view of the dear man, whom I loved with greater tenderness than I did myself, and for whose safety I would not have hesitated at sacrificing my own life. I always found my poor dog lying on his master's grave; but at my drawing near, he ran to the rear of the regiment, where my poor husband used to be while living. The poor creature's gratitude was so great, that for eight days I could not get him to eat anything: our removal from the place, and time, mitigated his visible grief. I myself, though often importuned, touched nothing of sustenance for a whole week. The prince of Orange, near whose quarters my tent was pitched, and who heard

my cries, was so charitable as to order his servants to fetch me to meals, saying, The poor woman weeps night and day, and will, I fear, kill herself, which would grieve me. They obeyed his highness's compassionate orders, and would set the choicest meats before me, but I could touch nothing; I only enjoyed the comfort of the fire, and the liberty of taking coals to make me one in my tent. The first who prevailed on me to touch meat, was a Scotch Cameronian, who forced me to a tent where he had got a breast of mutton; but I was so weak that I could not support the smell of the meat, but fainted away with the first bit between my teeth; lay a long time as dead, and was brought to my senses by very slow degrees; which colonel Hamilton's lady hearing, she sent for me, and ordered what was more suitable to my condition. After I had eat a little, she endeavoured to divert my melancholy, and frequently would have me to dinner with her, at which time she would chide me in a gay manner for grieving for one man so much, when the battalion afforded a number, out of which I might pick and choose; sometimes, again, she would very gravely represent to me the sin of self-murder, which would be the consequence of indulging to my grief. That it was, beside, disputing the will of God, which we ought to obey with resignation, and not presumptuously to call his will in question. Colonel Hamilton often seconded his lady's charity, and in about six weeks I began to get the better of my grief, though it was long before I could entirely shake it off. In this time my affairs went backward; I had neglected everything, and left my tent to the care of a drummer and his wife, who were so good as to consume my whole substance by sinking the produce of my effects, and their generosity to such as came to sponge under the pretence of visits of condolence. My mares fared better than I did; for one Hugh Jones, a grenadier, whom I have before mentioned, took them under his care, and provided

them every night with forage, which he got from captain Hume's stables. He had often solicited me in my husband's time, but finding me entirely averse to even the thoughts of injuring my husband, he gave over his suit, and esteemed me for my honesty. My husband being dead, this esteem was changed to love; he now renewed his suit, and courted me for a wife. His care of my mares, his having ventured his life to save my longing when I was with child at Ghent, and his daily endeavouring to oblige me, together with his threats of putting an end to his life if I continued obstinate, prevailed on me to marry him in the camp, about eleven weeks after my husband's decease, on condition that he should not eat or bed with me till we were in garrison, which he agreed to, and kept his promise, however contrary to his inclinations. My marriage being known, had like to have caused a duel between a sergeant and my new husband, the former saying, The cow that lows most after her calf went soonest to bull; the latter took him up in a very sharp manner, and if others had not interposed, and made them friends, after the sergeant had acknowledged that he was in the wrong to reflect upon me, he might have repented his being witty.

After the reduction of Mons, our regiment was garrisoned at Ghent, where we spent the winter without any event worthy of notice; wherefore I shall pass over this winter season, and go on to the operations of the ensuing campaign, after I have taken a short view of affairs in Spain; as this year was fought the battle of Almenara, where we quitted scores with the Spaniards for the loss we sustained in that of Almanza. The emperor sent his brother king Charles some troops from Italy, which arrived very opportunely to check the progress of the enemy, who had carried the town and castle of Alicant; defeated the Portuguese in the plain of Guadiana, and lived at discretion in their country. Philip himself took the field, and directed his march to Catalonia; but having intelligence that the French

were ordered to run no hazard, he returned to Madrid very much dissatisfied, and there found a general consternation on the intelligence they had of the king of France having recalled his troops. Resolving to make the next campaign in person, he caused very great levies to be made, set out on the 3rd of May, N. S., arrived, the 10th, at Lerida, where he held a council of war, in which it was resolved to besiege Balaguera; but the waters being out, and having advice of the reenforcement his competitor had received from Italy, after he had invested the town, he judged it proper to draw off from before it, and return to Lerida. King Charles being informed of this march, privately raised his camp, and marched with such expedition, that having passed the Neguera, with the greater part of the army, at noon, on the 27th of July, he marched to meet the enemy, who immediately drew up on the rising ground of Almenara with forty squadrons, which were all their horse, and eight or ten battalions, while the rest of their foot advanced. On another rising ground, which commanded that where the enemy was posted, the allies mounted fourteen pieces of cannon; and without staying for the right wing, charged the Spaniards so briskly with sixteen squadrons, that they broke and drove them upon their foot that were in the bottom, whom they trod down, and caused so great a confusion, that throwing away their arms, and leaving their baggage, tents, and a number of cannon and waggons, they fled by the favour of the night, which was coming on, to Lerida. King Philip arrived there at midnight, very much displeased with the behaviour of his horse. On his arrival, he was blooded, having been thrown by his horse, frightened with a cannon-ball, in the engagement.

After this victory, which cost the allies but four hundred men, they took in Balbastro, Estadilla, Sarizena, Guesqua, Abastello, and Moncon; all the garrisons of which places were made prisoners of war: and a great part of the kingdom of Aragon, as far as

Huesca, submitted to king Charles, who, decamping from Moncon on the 12th of August, endeavoured to bring the enemy to a second battle. He passed the Ebro near Ozera, on the 19th, and marched directly to them; who, commanded by the marquis de Bay, were posted on the rising ground of Jariexo, stretching the left towards Saragossa; he had the Ebro behind him, and the little river Huebra covered his front; each army preparing on the 19th of August, at night, for a general engagement the next day. The Spanish cannon began to play on the very dawn, and made a terrible fire on the allies, who notwithstanding, marched up in order of battle, as well as the ground would allow, and receiving with surprising intrepidity the enemy's fire, began the attack at eleven o'clock. The generals, Amezaga and Mahoni, repulsed the left wing of the allies, and pursued them as far as Alagon and the Ebro, which advantage gave the Spaniards great hopes of the victory: but general Staremberg, charging, in his turn, the left wing of the enemy, and taking them at the same time in flank with a part of his foot posted behind hedges, they threw themselves in disorder on the main body, which they put into confusion, and caused an entire defeat of their whole army, about four in the afternoon. King Charles, who had the satisfaction of supping that night in the tent of his competitor, took sixty-two colours and standards, twenty-two pieces of cannon, all the equipages, six thousand private men, and four hundred officers. General Mahoni, who, with some of the runaways, had thrown himself into the castle of Alfaxerea near Saragossa, was summoned, and having no hopes of succour, obliged to surrender prisoner of war with those who had followed him.

After this defeat, Philip, with an escort of two hundred officers, took the road of Madrid, where he arrived on the 24th. He immediately ordered money and provisions to be sent to his scattered troops, and drew five thousand men from the frontiers of Anda-

lusia, to re-enforce his army, which was drawing together. In the interim, Saragossa, capital of Aragon, submitted to king Charles, and sent him a present of seventy thousand pieces of eight, with a quantity of clothing, ammunition, and provision for his army. After this the allies marched to Madrid: on their approach, Philip, not thinking himself secure, sent the rich furniture of the palace to Valladolid, which he the next day followed, with the queen, the prince of Asturia, and all the privy-council and grandees of the court. He passed by the way of Montejo de la Vega, the ancient seat of the kings of Castile, and arrived the 16th at Valladolid, having promised the Castilians, by a letter, to return to Madrid in the space of a month. This promise, however, did not prevent the town's submitting to king Charles: general Stanhope having summoned it on the 21st, four deputies were sent to Alcala de Henares; after which a general amnesty was proclaimed, and public rejoicings continued for three days. The allies having taken out of the church of our Lady d'Atocha, the colours they had formerly lost, encamped at Canillejas; and king Charles took his quarters in the stately seat of count Aguilar, a league distant from Madrid. On the 28th, he made his entry into that metropolis, preceded by count Galves's regiment, and followed by his guards, he marched through the streets of Alcala and Calle-major, to the gate of Guadalaxara, and from thence through the great square to our Lady d'Atocha, where he heard mass. He left the town the same night, without taking a view of the royal palace.

The promise Philip had made the Castilians to return to Madrid in a month, he made good; for the troops he had drawn together from all quarters formed so considerable an army, that the allies were obliged to quit that town on the 11th of November, and to withdraw to Toledo, which had submitted to king Charles. Philip, who returned to Madrid the 3rd of

December, with duke Vendome and the privy-counsellors, &c. who followed him, set out three days after, to place himself at the head of his forces. His design was to follow the allies in their retreat to Aragon, and bring them to a battle, in which, in all likelihood, he would have had the advantage, they being divided into several corps, that they might more easily subsist. On advice that general Stanhope was at Brihuega, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, he ordered it to be immediately invested. The cannon having opened a breach, the troops made the assault, and pushed to the very centre of the town, and, after a defence of twenty-eight hours, compelled this numerous corps to surrender prisoners of war; but on this condition, however, that the officers should not be spoiled of their equipages and horses. General Staremberg hearing the danger that Stanhope was in, marched with all the army to his succour, and in the night fired several cannon to give him notice of his arrival. On the 10th, he advanced as far as the plain of Villa Viciosa, whither the Spanish army, after the expedition of Brihuega, marched in order of battle to meet him, they being greatly superior in number. The duke of Vendome with the right wing, attacked the left of the allies, which he overthrew in an instant; then taking their horse in flank, routed them, and drove the foot, who maintained the fight till night, when they fled towards Seguenca, leaving behind them their cannon and wounded men, with a great number of waggons. The Germans give a quite different account, and say that the main body and right wing, consisting of thirty squadrons and sixteen battalions, were five different times attacked, and not only at length entirely defeated the enemy's horse, but drove the whole army of the Spaniards beyond the Tajune; killed six thousand, and remained masters of the field and all the cannon till noon of the next day. But this is not at all likely, for it is certain that this battle

fixed Philip in that throne, the possession of which was the ground of this bloody war. But to return to the Low Countries.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arriving at the army on the 20th of April 1710, N. S., decamped that very night, to seize on the bridge at Vendin, and the upper grounds of Courieres. The French no sooner saw the vanguard of the allies, but they quitted their lines, which covered Walloon-Flanders, and which had cost them so much raising; so that the duke of Wirtemberg and lieutenant-general Cadogan entered them, without so much as drawing a sword. On the other hand, monsieur d'Artagnon, who was posted behind the Scarpe, with forty battalions and thirty squadrons, not only abandoned the river the very next day, but also the four towers, Marchiennes, Hanon, and St. Amand, threw some troops into Bouchain, and withdrew under the cannon of Arras. This successful opening of the campaign, was followed by the siege of Douay, invested the 23rd. This town, in which Philip the second, king of Spain, founded a university in 1560, was taken by Lewis XIV. in 1667, five days after the trenches were opened, since when that monarch had it regularly fortified, and raised a fort on the Scarpe half a quarter of a league distant from the town. We opened the trenches in two places on the north side of the river, the 3rd of May at night. While we carried on our works, marshal Villars, having re-enforced his army with all the men he could draw out of the garrisons, gave out that he would march to the succour of the town; and in effect appeared with his army between Lens and Taupou; he even made a detachment, which, advancing as far as Neuvirel and Berticourt, drew very near to the lines we had made before the grand army, to prevent being incommoded during the siege, as we had been at Lisle. These motions raised the hopes of the besieged,

and animated them to a vigorous defence; but all their bravery could not save the place, which capitulated the 25th of June; the garrison, four days after, gave the allies possession of that and Fort Scarpe, and marched out with all the marks of honour, to be conducted to Cambray.

The partisan du Moulin attempted to surprise Lovain, but was disappointed by the bravery of the burghers. On the 5th of August he detached a party, who scaled the wall between the old and new gate of Brussels, where the ditch is dry, and having the good fortune to enter the town without being perceived, disarmed the burghers' guard, opened a gate, and let in their comrades to the number of four or five hundred; who posting themselves in St. James's churchyard, sent a party thence to the heart of the town, who seized upon the guild, and secured the burghers' grand guard. After this expedition, they intended to possess themselves of the other gates; the garrison, which was but a hundred and fifty men, having withdrawn, on the first notice, into the castle. In the interim, the whole town was alarmed, and the burgher-master awaking with the noise made in the streets, ran disguised to St. Peter's church, where he shut himself in and rang the alarum bell. Immediately the burghers took to their arms, and, headed by Van de Ven, marched to the square, and drew up in order before the guard. Du Moulin hearing that all was in motion, sent in all speed an officer on horseback, to see how matters went. He came to the square with his drawn sword in his hand, and threatened the burghers to fire the town, if they did not lay down their arms: but this menace was so far from having the desired effect, that one of them fired at him, and the ball taking him in the throat, tumbled him dead from his horse. The burgher-master immediately ordered the inhabitants to repair from their different

quarters to the gate the enemy had opened, and retake it; while he, at the head of his company, marched with beat of drum to St. James's churchyard to dislodge the French. But they, fearing they should be cut off from the gate, thought of nothing but their retreat; and it was time for them to do it, for the burghers arrived just as they left the churchyard, and hooted them as they went off.

In our march to the siege of Douay, one Morgan Jones stole from me one of my mares, and I was obliged to purchase another, which I did of a hussar, who, as I apprehended, had stolen it from a boor. This latter found her in my possession, though I had docked, trimmed, and endeavoured to disguise her; but to no purpose, the peasant was not to be deceived; he knew and claimed his beast. I denied her to be his property, as I had bought and paid for her; and told him I would not part with my right; I talked big, and thought to carry it off with a high hand; but the fellow complaining to lord Orrery, and making oath the mare was his, I was ordered by his lordship to return the man his beast, at night, when we were come to our journey's end, which I accordingly did, but could never get my money back from the hussar. Soon after, a friend of mine, found where the Welchman had sold my mare, which I recovered; and my husband meeting Morgan Jones, gave him a sound drubbing for his thieving.

After the reduction of Douay, the allies encamped with the right near the head of the Lave, and the left near that of Souchet, behind the Scarpe, whence a detachment of twenty-six battalions and eighteen squadrons was detached to invest Bethune, on the 5th of July; and on the 22nd, baron Fagel and count Schuitenburg opened the trenches, one on the side of St. Andrew's gate, and one before that of the Holy Ghost. The town was well furnished with everything necessary for the holding out a long siege; it was de-

fended by deep ditches, a great number of mines, double outworks on the side of the low grounds; one would have thought it was out of danger, they being lain under water, had double outworks, and was on a stony soil. The allies, however, found means to drain off the water on that side where the grounds were drowned, and having carried on their work without being molested by mines, preparations were made on the 28th to give the assault to the outworks; but the besieged, not daring to expose themselves to it, hung out a white ensign. At count Schuitenburg's attack, baron Fagel resenting the governor's not doing the like on his side, continued to push on his works; and thinking his honour at stake, threatened, in case they longer delayed to do it, to lay all in ashes. Monsieur de Vauban, who commanded in the town, made some difficulty of this, because, as he alleged, there was no breach as yet on the side of the baron's attack; however, he was at length obliged to give way. The capitulation was signed, the garrison left the town on the 30th, with all the marks of honour, and was conducted to Arras.

As ours was one of the regiments which covered the siege, I had no occasion to run into danger. Captain Montgomery, who would serve volunteer at this siege, was killed by a musket-ball; and while it continued, all our foragers had like to have been cut off: marshal Villars had detached several squadrons to attack us, which fell on those that were to protect us, and soon made them give way; but our foragers making head, and sustaining them, the tables were turned in our favour, and we drove the enemy with great slaughter: fresh troops coming to their assistance, we were compelled to retreat to a village, where we expected succour from our army. We were soon surrounded, and summoned by the French to surrender, but we refusing, they attacked us in front, but were in their turn obliged to retreat at the approach of

the piquet-guard. In this excursion for forage, I got out of a barn a large bolster full of wheat, two pots of butter, and a great quantity of apples, all which I carried safe to my tent. The wheat I got ground at a mill the enemy had deserted, and made pies, which I sold in the camp: of the bran I made starch.

After the reduction of Bethune, as soon as the works were filled up, and the breaches hastily repaired, or rather botched up, the prince of Orange, stadtholder of Frise, invested St. Venant on the 4th of September, with twenty battalions; as on the same day the prince d'Anhalt-Dessau, with forty battalions, did Aire. Monsieur de Guebriant, who commanded in the latter, made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence. The drains we were obliged to make at St. Venant to carry off the water, were a great hindrance to the siege, for the trenches were not opened till the 16th, at nine at night, between the road to Busne and that to Robec, by two thousand workmen, supported by four battalions; and, nine days after, our batteries began to play. We gave several assaults to the outworks, and almost carried them on the 28th, at night, and as the besieged saw we were going to raise batteries to play on the body of the town, they capitulated on the 29th, and were allowed to march out with all the marks of honour. Our regiment, I mean that to which my husband belonged, marched with the prince to the siege; and the English being commanded to attack the counterscarp, my husband, who was unjustly forced to do another man's duty, being in the front rank, firing on his knee, received a musket-ball in his thigh: I was just then got into the rear of those who attacked, being willing to get as near to my husband as possible, when I saw his comrades bring him off; I was greatly troubled, but felt nothing like the grief which seized me when I found my dear Richard Welsh among the dead; I knew nothing more dangerous for him than to catch

cold, as it was commonly fatal, wherefore I stripped off my clothes to my stays and under-petticoat to cover him up warm, and his comrades carried him to the trench, where Mr. White the surgeon, who searched and dressed his wound, said it was but slight, but the next day, finding the bone broken, judged it mortal. When St. Venant had surrendered, our wounded men were carried to the army at Aire, before which town the prince d'Anhalt-Dessau opened the trenches in two places on the 12th of September, at night. One on the left of the hornwork adjoining to the gate of Arras, against the bastion of St. Stephen's gate; and the other before the old castle, on the side of the village of St. Quentin. The stony ground, the great rains we had this autumn, and the brave defence the besieged made, contributed to the length and difficulty of this siege. The garrison disputed the ground inch by inch, and behaved with exemplary courage; the allies, however, surmounted all these obstacles; they at length threw bridges over the first ditch for the fifth time, for the garrison had burnt the bridges no less than four times; carried the covered way in the beginning of November, filled up the ditch which led to the breach, and having prepared the last batteries, compelled the garrison to beat the chamade on the 8th, between five and six in the evening. The next morning the governor waited on the duke of Marlborough to draw up the articles; at night he gave up to the allies one of the gates of the town and Fort St. Francis, and on the 11th the garrison marched out with four pieces of cannon, two mortars, and all the marks of honour. This siege put a period to the campaign, we were ordered into winter-quarters, and our wounded men sent to the hospital at Lisle, where my husband daily grew worse, had his wound often laid open; but at length it turned to a mortification, and in ten weeks' time after he received it, carried him off.

As in this town I had no acquaintance, I had no

business. Brigadier Preston was the only one I knew, and he from a pure motive of generosity allowed me a crown a week, and a dinner every Tuesday, if I ought not to attribute this goodness to a grateful remembrance of the care I took of him when he was lain up with a wound he received at Ramillies. Over and above this, whenever he had any entertainment, I was allowed, for my assisting the cook, to carry away with me victuals sufficient for three or four days' support.

The unanimity of the allies was the principal cause of a successful war; but now the divisions, which were revived in England between the Whigs and Tories, paved the way to, and at last concluded, a less advantageous peace than might have been expected from such a number of conquests, and so many glorious victories.

About the 8th of April, N. S., the emperor Joseph was attacked with a violent distemper, which in spite of all the advice of his physicians, daily increased; and no wonder, since they at length discovered that the remedies they had prescribed, were contrary to the nature of his malady, which proved to be the small-pox. However he was not thought in danger till the 15th; but the next day his imperial majesty complained of a great heat in his bowels, and a great heaviness and distraction in his head. This, augmenting the consternation the court was in, caused so great disputes among the physicians, that they passed the whole night in disputes, and came to no conclusion till the morning, when the emperor was past taking any remedy, and he had but life enough to receive the sacraments; after which the nunico having given him the apostolical benediction, he gave up the ghost at ten o'clock, in his palace at Vienna, in the thirty-third year of his age.

The grand army was early drawn together at Orchies, where it remained till the 30th of April, N. S., and from thence marched on the side of the plain of Douay,

without entering upon anything of importance, on account of the French giving out that they would send a large body of troops into Germany, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, to take advantage of the consternation caused by the death of the emperor; but these designs proved abortive, by the allies having the precaution to send a very considerable detachment to the Upper Rhine. Though nothing of consequence was undertaken on either side, after we had taken post between Valenciennes and Douay, we had two or three skirmishes with the enemy; and on the arrival of prince Eugene, marched to Lens, to give the French a fair opportunity to come to a general battle; they made a show of being inclined to it, by laying bridges over the Scheld, and altering the situation of their army, though they had no such intention: however, seven or eight hundred of our men were ordered to force a fortified post at Arleux, whom I followed, in the piquet-guard, sent to support them, in case they should be succoured by the French. Our detachment carried the post, made several prisoners, and began to fortify themselves strongly in it, a large body of troops being sent to cover them. These the French surprised in the night, and put into disorder; but those whom they were to cover, awaking, and falling on in their shirts, sword in hand, the others rallied, and the enemy was repulsed. The next morning, going into the wood near our small camp, I found a hussar's horse tied to a tree with a tent upon his back as good as new; the horse, though but a low one, was very handsome, and mighty fleet: I suppose the owner, who was one of the enemy who attacked us in the night, had not time to lead him off. The French, after our removal, retook this post.

During this time of inaction, (for I account such bickerings hardly worth notice,) the prince of Orange, who had shown me so great humanity in my affliction for the death of my first husband, quitted the army to

make a tour to the Hague, to terminate the difference between his highness and the king of Prussia, with regard to the inheritance of king William's estates. He left us on the 11th of July, N. S., but to my great sorrow for the loss of my generous benefactor, he was drowned at Moerdyk on the 14th, being about twenty-four years of age; his body was found on the 22nd by a boat of Bergopzoom.

A few days after this fatal accident, the general of the allies gave out that they would attack, on the side of Arras, the lines the French had drawn to cover the country of Artois, behind which they had hitherto lain. In effect, the duke of Marlborough, having advanced as far as Villers-Brulin, which was but two leagues from those lines, ordered the horse to cut several thousand fascines to fill up the ditch; and on the 31st of July, N. S., sent the heavy baggage to La Basse, under the conduct of general Hompesch, that he might have no encumbrance. This detachment, which seemed designed for nothing more than an escort, being joined by part of the garrisons of Douay, Lisle, and Saint Amand, and being increased to eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, general Hompesch, their commander, directed his march with all the expedition possible towards Arleux, and Bac a Bacheul, to pass there the river Senset, from which the marshal Villars had withdrawn his forces to strengthen his army, believing he should be attacked in his lines: but the allies, who had only amused him, precipitately decamping on the 4th of August, N. S., at night, and dividing themselves into four columns, marched by the way of Nouville and Talu straight to Vitry, where they crossed the Scarpe, and from thence towards Arleux and Bac a Bacheul to support count Hompesch, who was already there. The duke of Marlborough, that he might get thither soon enough, went before, with all the horse of the right wing. Marshal Villars could scarce believe the first intelligence he received of this march; but

having advice by which he was convinced, he also raised his camp. However, as the allies were too far before him, and it was not possible for him to overtake them with his whole army, he placed himself at the head of twenty squadrons, to dispute them the passage of Senset. But having crossed a defile near Marquiou, he found count Hompesch drawn up in order of battle on the other side the river, supported by the duke of Marlborough at the head of the horse. The good countenance they showed prevented his taking advantage of the distance of the rest of the army, which did not get, till night, as far as Oisy, and made him determine on a retreat. The crossing the Senset rendered the French lines useless, for it gave the allies an entrance into the enemy's country, without the loss of a man, and was looked upon as a masterstroke of the duke of Marlborough. The first consequence of this expedition was the siege of Bouchain, which, on the 12th, baron Fagel invested with thirty battalions and twelve squadrons.

Marshal Villars, to impede the siege, and keep a communication with the town, raised an intrenchment near Marquette, which was extended as far as the morass of Bouchain, and in it posted twenty battalions: the besiegers, notwithstanding this, undertook to close their circumvallation on that side, and carried it from the rising ground to the morass between the enemy's intrenchment and the town, and at length, by extending it across the morass by making firm ground, with pontons, fascines, and blinds, quite finished it. This having rendered the marshal's endeavours fruitless, on the 23rd, at night, three trenches were opened, one against the lower, the other two against the upper town. On the 30th, about half an hour past seven, our batteries began to play, and made such a terrible fire the subsequent days, that the garrison, not being able to stand, made but feeble opposition to our approaches, so that on the 11th of September we were masters of the half-moon at the attack of the lower

town, and the breaches were made at the two other attacks; which obliged the governor to capitulate at two in the afternoon next day; but as he was refused all composition, the parley was broken off, and the attack renewed: however, about midnight, he again ordered the chamade to be beat; consented to surrender prisoners of war, and soon after delivered up a gate to the besiegers. The garrison, which made, still, three thousand men, marched out on the 14th, and were conducted, taking the road of Marchiennes, to be carried by water to Ghent and Sas van Ghent. Our army entered on no other expedition this campaign.

During this siege I was constantly employed in my lord Stair's, kitchen under his cook, into which colonel K——— coming, would have been rude enough, if I had not disengaged myself with a case-knife, just as lord Forrester came in, who asked what was the matter, I told him the colonel was but a bad judge of mankind, who were to be read by their actions; had he considered that the love I bore my husband had brought me in search of him for many years, in a red coat, exposed to all the dangers and hardships of a soldier's life, he would not have made an atempt so unbecoming his character, and so little probable of succeeding. The colonel said he only intended to kiss me. My lord commended and rewarded my virtue with a piece of gold, while he gave the colonel a gentle and friendly reprimand, who, poor gentleman, a few days after, had his heel taken off by a musket-ball, which wound laid him up for a considerable time. As I was one day a marauding near the besieged town, I got a basket full of fowls and pigeons, which I presented to the wounded colonel, to whom I was reconciled, as he had begged my pardon; these were no trifling matters, considering the French army and ours were so near each other that there was hardly subsistence for both; to which I may add the danger of stirring abroad, when a number of the enemy's parties were always in mo-

tion. The colonel took this present in so good part, that he gave me three barrels of strong beer he had in his quarters, and has been ever since very generous to me, which I cannot say of a great many others, to whom I had been much more serviceable. Nothing happened to me in particular all this campaign of 1711, which was the last the duke of Marlborough made, to the no small regret of the whole army, by whom he was entirely beloved, not only for his courage and conduct, but equally dear to us all for his affability and humanity.

During the siege of Bouchain, Charles III., king of Spain, was elected emperor, of whose affairs, with relation to the Spanish monarchy, the succession to which was the principal ground of the war, it will not be amiss to take a short view. After Philip had won the victory of Villa Viciosa last year, 1710, he once more became master of the whole kingdom of Aragon, the subjects of which were obliged to renew their oaths of allegiance to him. This reduction being made, the duke of Noailles at the head of fifty squadrons and forty battalions, invested Gironne on the 16th of December; he opened the trench before the red Fort, and having carried it, attacked the town on the same side. On the 13th of January, N. S., two breaches were of a sufficient width: but on that day there fell such a violent rain, that it drowned most of their works, and the tar, overflowing, undermined and overthrew their batteries, laying all the adjacent grounds under water; which reduced the besiegers to great straits, as it hindered their going to the barns, which served them for magazines. When the rain ceased, they began to repair the damage; the miners renewed their labour, and on the morning of the 24th they sprang a mine, which had all the effect they could desire; and the besiegers mounting the breach sword in hand, carried the first intrenchment, and were preparing to attack the second, when count Tellenbach, governor of the

town, sent to the duke of Noailles to capitulate. The garrison had their liberty granted, and the French entered the town on the 26th.

After the rendition of Gironne the troops went into winter-quarters; Philip chose Saragossa, to be at hand to give his orders; he made great preparations, and new levies, giving out that they were designed for the siege of Barcelona. In the interim, count Staremberg having received from England large remittances of money, and some troops from Italy, which increased his army to thirty-six battalions and forty-four squadrons, opportunely possessed himself of Pratz del Rey, a very advantageous post, from which all the endeavours of the enemy could not remove him. Wherefore, while the two armies were disputing the ground, the duke of Vendome, that he might lose no time, detached count Muret with three thousand men, whom he soon after re-enforced with the like number, to form the siege of Cardona. This town could hardly be said to be fortified; but it had a good castle, and a numerous garrison. It was invested on the 14th of November. The old towers were soon demolished by the enemy's cannon; and on the 17th, in the morning, the besiegers having made an assault, carried the rampart, entered the town, made a cruel slaughter, and obliged such of the inhabitants as had not withdrawn into the castle, to surrender prisoners of war. Being masters of the town, they turned all their strength against the castle, the garrison of which, having hopes of succour, employed all possible means for their defence. They were reduced to the eating their horses and asses, when count Staremberg sent a detachment, which on the 21st of December, being advanced within half a league of the castle, drove the besiegers, and vigorously repelled twelve companies of grenadiers, which attacked them near the spring of Aqua Rosa, to dislodge them. The rest of that day and the next were employed in keeping the enemy in motion to gain a passage for four hundred men, laden

with provisions, into the castle; which was luckily effected, by the besiegers abandoning their post on the approach of the troops, which sustained the convoy: they, however, very strenuously endeavoured to gain the rising ground, which the allies had in possession, but all their efforts were ineffectual; and after having lost two thousand men, killed or taken, they thought fit to retreat, and carry off what baggage they could: they left, notwithstanding, in their camp, fourteen pieces of cannon, four field-pieces, four mortars, a number of mules, with a good store of provision and baggage. This loss made the duke of Vendome take the advantage of the night and a great fog to decamp from Pratz del Rey.

The allies never had so numerous an army in Flanders, as this year; and the duke of Ormond, who succeeded the duke of Marlborough in the command of our forces, in passing through the Hague, protested he would exert himself to bring the French to listen to reason. Notwithstanding which, when a fair opportunity offered, and a resolution was taken to attack them, he declared he had no orders to act against the French. The other generals were quite enraged to see the enemy escape such an evident danger. However, they could not think of remaining inactive the whole campaign with so fine an army, and notwithstanding the duke of Ormond refused to employ any part of our forces in the siege of Quesnoy, that town was invested by the rest of the allies on the 8th of June, with twenty squadrons and thirty battalions under the command of general Fagel. Though in that season there is very little light, and the moon was then at full, these inconveniences did not prevent the opening the trenches, two before the ponds, on the right and left of the wood, and a third on the 23rd, at night, to divide the forces of the besieged. The town would have capitulated on the 3rd of July, but they could get no better terms than to be made prisoners of war.

New instructions were sent to the duke of Ormond; in consequence of which, he withdrew from the rest of the army, encamped at Avene-le-sec, with all our English troops, consisting of twenty battalions and nineteen squadrons, and proclaimed a suspension of arms at the head of our camp.

To the end the allies might be rendered incapable to undertake anything considerable against France, the duke of Ormond endeavoured to draw off the German troops in English pay, and to bring them to enter into the suspension of arms; with this design, he gave them advice of his going off, and summoned them to follow him: but they refusing to obey, except only one battalion and four squadrons of Holstiens, and two of Walef, he sent the same orders again to the prince d'Anhalt-Dessau, general of the Prussian troops. This prince returned for answer, that he had received one from the king his master, with command to obey the English general in whatever should not be contrary to his instructions, by which he was enjoined to act offensively as well as defensively; and if he received contrary orders, the king commanded him to withdraw, and join his forces to prince Eugene's army. The prince of Hesse-Cassel, also summoned to follow us, thus addressed himself to the officer who carried him the order: Sir, tell the duke of Ormond that the Hessian troops desire nothing more ardently than to march, provided it be to engage the French: I will do myself the honour to acquaint his excellency with the reason I cannot now obey his orders. The army decamping from Haspre on the 15th of July, to march to Thian, the Danish, Prussian, Saxon, &c. troops in English pay, left us and joined prince Eugene. Though the withdrawing our forces considerably weakened the army, the allies undertook the siege of Landrecy, which the prince d'Anhalt-Dessau, with thirty-five battalions and thirty squadrons, invested on the 17th.

When we decamped, the duke of Ormond made a

feint of taking the Ypres road, and of staying in that neighbourhood; but soon changed his route, and made an expeditious march towards Ghent and Bruges, which two places he surprised and garrisoned; and thus became master of the pass of those convoys, which the allies received by the Lis and Scheld.

On the 19th of July, France gave possession of Dunkirk to the troops the queen sent thither from England.

I left the allies before Landrecy; who, to keep open a communication with Douay, Tournay, and Marchiennes, had posted eleven imperial regiments and six battalions in an intrenchment at Denain on the Scheld. Marshal Villars being informed very minutely of the strength and disposition of the allies, and consequently of the corps at Denain, as it was given out, by the duke of Ormond, resolved to surprise these troops. After several false motions to deceive the allies, and to make them believe he intended to succour Landrecy, he on a sudden changed his route, and being re-enforced by the garrisons of Cambray and Valenciennes, on the 24th of July, he with his whole army furiously fell upon the little camp at Denain. It was impossible for the earl of Albemarle, who commanded this body, to withstand the whole French army, or even to retreat, as we had taken away the most convenient bridges. Wherefore, after a short but very sharp engagement, the intrenchment was carried, and all who defended it, officers and soldiers, were killed in the action. The next day, the victorious French appeared before Marchiennes, but a weak town, which they took with little trouble, though it was defended by seven or eight battalions under the command of brigadier Berkhoffer. Here they found not only all the artillery and ammunition designed for the siege of Landrecy, but all the provisions, brought together at a prodigious expense, for the support of the army.

The court of France, on the advice of this success, no

longer doubted of the allies being compelled to accept of such conditions of peace as the English and French had prescribed them: they were confirmed in this opinion by the taking a hundred and fifty barks laden with ammunition and provisions, not to reckon the other booty the French made; the raising the siege of Landrecy, and the retreat of the allies towards Mons. In effect, those losses had so greatly weakened the confederates, that far from being in a condition to undertake any enterprise, they were not able to prevent marshal Villars retaking several towns this campaign.

The marshal being flushed with his turn of fortune, re-enforced his army, by draughts from several garrisons; invested Douay on the 3rd of August, and on the 4th, at night, opened the trenches before the town, and before Fort de la Scarpe. He left the care of the siege to marshal Montesquieu and count Albergotti, while he himself, with the grand army, observed the motions of prince Eugene; who, after the raising the siege of Landrecy, had retired, and advanced very near to Tournay to succour the besieged, did he find it feasible. He encamped at Seelin, extending his right towards Noailles, and his left as far as Mons en Pevele. After he had been several times to reconnoitre the enemy's lines, it was thought too dangerous an attempt to attack them: however, the prince spread a report, that the army would march to the relief of the town, and actually they decamped and drew near to the enemy; but as this motion was made with no other view than to encourage the besieged, the army soon returned to its post. General Hompesch, who had thrown himself into the town, with some troops, before it was invested, defended himself with all the bravery that could be expected with a weak and an ill-provided garrison. He held out till the 10th of September, and was allowed no other conditions than that of surrendering prisoners of war. Before the end of this siege, and after prince Eugene's retreat, marshal Villars marched

towards Valenciennes; and on the 8th of September, having led his troops over the Scheld, he advanced to the plain of Sebourg, to deprive the allies of all communication with Quesnoy; and that he might entirely cut it off, he threw up an intrenchment behind the little river d'Hanneau, by which, having straitened the town, he invested it in form. On the 18th he opened the trenches in three several places; at the gate of Valenciennes, at that of Cambray, and between these two gates: some days after, he opened another before the gate of the wood, that he might divide the fire of the besieged. General Ivoy commanded in the town, which they had scarcely had time to fortify; the governor defended himself with all imaginable bravery; but the French, notwithstanding, carrying on their works with the utmost vigour, made themselves masters of the outworks without great loss; and having made a breach, filled up the ditch and finished the galleries, all the grenadiers of the army were commanded to prepare for a general assault on the 4th of October. Before it was given, the marshal summoned the governor, who not being strong enough to withstand the enemy, beat the chamade about four in the afternoon, and was obliged to undergo the same fate with the garrison of Douay. Towards the end of the siege of Quesnoy, the chevalier Luxemburg invested Bouchain, having first driven all the cattle in the neighbourhood, part of which he sent to Cambray; and opened the trenches the very day that Quesnoy surrendered. The town was attacked with such resolution, that, having but five hundred men in garrison, these were obliged to surrender on the 20th. The garrison left the place the next day, and was conducted to Chateau Cambresis, and from thence to Rheims.

In the midst of these disasters, the garrison of Ostend gained a considerable advantage over the French. Monsieur Caris, governor of that town, being informed of the weak condition of the garrison of Fort Knoque,

sent the partisan La Rue, with a hundred and fourscore men, who, by by-ways, got thither on the 4th of October, at night. There were four houses between the drawbridge and the fort; in these they found means to conceal themselves, and, at the gate opening, seized upon the two nearest bridges, surprised the guard, possessed themselves of the other gates, and disarmed the garrison. This was the last expedition of the campaign in 1712.

Some time after our troops had taken possession of Dunkirk, I applied to his grace the duke of Ormond, for a pass to England; which he not only signed, but generously ordered major M——y to give me money enough to defray my charges; though he gave me but ten shillings, which I am satisfied was much less than the duke designed me; for every one, whether friends or enemies to his grace, will allow he was not close-fisted. I left Ghent, and went by water to Dunkirk, where I was kindly received by our regiment, garrisoned in this town. As I was obliged to wait here some time for the packet-boat's arrival, I went to pay my respects to the governor, general Hill, to have my pass signed: he was then very ill and confined to his bed. He, however, signed it, sent me two pistoles, and a compliment, that had he not been ill he would have seen me; directing orders to be given to the commander of the packet, to respect me as an officer's widow. During my stay here, I was going to take pot-luck with colonel Ingram, and accidentally meeting him in the way, I told him I designed to foul a plate with him; said he, I should be glad if you would defer the favour to another day, as a set of officers are invited to dine with brigadier Durel, and it is probable, that beside a better dinner, you may get wherewithal to defray your charges to England. I thanked him for the hint, and took his advice, but they had dined before I got thither. Durel seeing by my looks I was disappointed, asked me if I would take up with a mor-

sel at the servants' table. O' my consience, said I, you have shown the height of good breeding, to sit down before I came, for I don't suppose but Ingram had acquainted the company that I intended them the honour of mine; however, my pride shall never defraud my belly, and I don't know but I go into the politer company of the two; for had they known, as you did, that a person of my distinction would condescend to grace their table, they would show the good manners you have wanted, and wait my coming. They all laughed at the gravity with which I delivered myself, and I left them to get my dinner, reprimanding Durel for his want of respect to a lady of my rank and figure. Having eat heartily, and very much at my ease, I returned to, and took a cheerful bottle with the company, the brigadiers Durel, Godfrey, Clayton, sir Robert Monroe, and colonel Harrison. One of the company was in a fine laced suit, of which, taking more than ordinary care, raised a desire in the rest to have them spoiled: they, to that end, plied him well with wine, never let the bottle stand still, but pushed it round, in hopes he would either spill the wine upon his clothes, or stain them with a second flask; but the care of them increased as he grew drunk, and they were disappointed of their aim: this made them propose the mischief to me, and as I loved a little roguery as well as the best of them, I pretended I could not finish my bottle. The company, except the gentleman in the fine clothes, who was heartily in for it, seemed willing to excuse me; but he, who sat next me, swore I should take my glass in my turn: the more reluctance I showed, the more strenuously he insisted upon my pledging him every time the glass came round; at length I told him, if he forced me to drink when it went against my stomach, I might, however unwillingly, be offensive to the company, and particularly to himself and brigadier Godfrey, between whom I sat. All arguments were vain, as commonly they are with drunken people, (and he was far

from being sober,)—drink I should, let the consequence be never so fatal. I was very sober, but willing to gratify the rest of the company, and show the brigadier the effects of obstinacy, which are commonly loss and disgrace, took my glass, and prepared to cast. At the third glass, after the dispute, I again desired him to excuse me, for I found another bumper would overcharge me. He was deaf to all I could urge; drink it I must, and drink it I did, to his great mortification; for I set open a flood-gate, which falling like a cataract, spread ruin and desolation over one side of his clothes; the colour of which changed to a dismal hue, and all the glory of the glittering lace sunk oppressed by an inundation of indigested wine. A pallid ire now o'erspread his cheeks, and indignation sparkled in his eyes, while fetid fumes arising from the flood, forced him to strip, and at a distance hurl the now-polluted robe. But to quit my heroics; however angry he was, he did all he could to conceal it, as he thought he alone was in fault, for he had not the least notion of his misfortune being designed. His clothes he could wear no more till that side was taken off, and a new one supplied. However, though he supposed it a mischance, and not premeditated, he could not forget or forbear telling me of it every time he saw me afterwards; but I excused myself by throwing the blame on him. I pretended to be very sick and fuddled, and was for taking my leave, but the gentlemen would not part with me till they had contributed to the charges of my voyage, giving me two crowns apiece.

Soon after, I embarked for England, and being arrived, took lodgings at the Queen's Head, Charing-Cross; having rested myself three or four days, I waited on the duke of Marlborough; in my way to his grace's house met colonel Chidley, and told him to whom I was going, and what was my errand, which my reader may suppose was to get some provision made for me, in consideration of my own service and the loss

of two husbands in her majesty's. The colonel told me that he was afraid the duke had no interest; however, advised me to go, as I did, and was very humanely received by his grace, who expressed a concern that he could not serve me, and gave me a gentle reprimand for not coming to England when he sent, and had the power to do for me. Indeed his grace was so very generous to send for me, before he resigned his command, which I forgot to mention in its proper place. I returned my lord duke thanks for the good intentions he had, and took my leave; at going away, he clapped a guinea in my hand, and honoured me with his good wishes. My hopes being here frustrated, I was resolved to try if I might have any better success with my lord duke of Argyle, who was still in the enjoyment of his sovereign's favour. Accordingly, the next day, I set out for his grace's house, but near King-street, Westminster, I met him in his chair. The duke first espied me, and asking a footman of his, to whom I was perfectly well known, whether that was not Mother Ross? being answered in the affirmative, stopped his chair. He asked me several questions, how long I had been in England, &c., and lastly, where I lodged? I answered him, that it was in one of your houses of civil conversation, more frequented than any one in Flanders, and more noted for the modest company and conversation to be found there; which was the reason that the officer of the parish, who represented her majesty, very often did my landlady the honour of his visits, and not seldom invited the ladies under her tuition to a palace of his, known by the name of the Round-house. His grace smiled, and giving me a guinea, bid me go to his house, and wait his return, saying he would consider how something might be done to provide for me; bid me inquire for Macquin, who with Sawney Ross, were the only two of the duke's domestics to whom I was known. According to my orders, I inquired for the former of these two, and

was shown into the housekeeper's room, who went up to her lady, and told her that I was in the house. Her grace, having had my character from her lord, sent for me to her apartment; made me sit down; breakfast with her, and tell the story of my adventures: which I did, in the best manner I could; and though I was as concise as possible, I believe I omitted no material event that regarded me in particular. Her grace was so complaisant as to appear pleased with the account I gave, and I am sure was very much so when I related his grace's escape at Rousselart, telling me, for that advice which I gave her lord of the enemy's approach, she should always esteem me, and do me any service I could ask that was in her power, and remember me to her latest hour; and indeed her grace kept her word, for she heaped many favours on me, which I mention in honour to her conjuga laffection for her lord, and with true sense of the many obligations her humane goodness has lain me under. When I had finished my story, my lady duchess made me a present of a guinea and a half, enjoining me silence, lest it might prevent her lord from making me any. I had scarce made an end of my narrative, when his grace came in, and finding us together, was very merry with her grace receiving in her bedchamber, and conversing with, a dragoon. When dinner was ready, my lord duke would have done me the honour of seating me at his table; but as there was company, I begged to be excused, and with much entreaty was permitted to dine at the second, from whence, after our meal was over, my lord sent for me to the company, with whom I sate till evening. My lady duchess, who saw me under some restraint, and at a loss how to behave before a person of her character and quality, soon left us; in getting off her chair she kissed me, saying, I know you and my lord will be better company, and talk over your camp adventures with more freedom in my absence; but I desire you will let us see you often, and be better ac-

quainted. Her grace judged very right; for on her retiring, we ripped up old stories, and were as merry as so many new-paid-off sailors. There were with my lord two of his aids-de-camp, who had as good memories as I had. When it grew dark, I took my leave, and my lord giving me another guinea, ordered me to get a petition drawn up for the queen; to carry it to the duke of Hamilton, and he himself would back it. As I went off, the two aids-de-camp made me a present of three crowns each.

As his grace of Argyle had advised me, I got a petition drawn, in which was set forth that for twelve years I had served in the earl of Orkney's regiment as a man; that I had received several wounds, and lost two husbands in the service. With this I waited on duke Hamilton, who said, as he did not know me, I might possibly be an impostor; my bare assertion not being sufficient proof of my service. I replied, that I would appeal to any officer in the army, as I believed that I was known to all, though I did not know them all. His grace answering, he required no greater confirmation, went into a parlour, where I heard some discourse pass, but could distinguish nothing. After some little time I was ordered to go in to the duke, and found two officers of our regiment, with whom I was intimately acquainted. They saluted me with a great deal of good nature, and confirmed to the duke all that I had advanced in my petition, saying much more in my favour than modesty will allow me to insert here. Well, said the duke, after having run through so many dangers together, you cannot but take a bottle at meeting. His grace called for one, and, having emptied it, I took my leave; at going away the duke gave me a crown to have a new petition drawn to present to the queen myself next morning; he intending to present her majesty the other that night. I thanked his grace, and was very punctual in following his instructions. I got my

petition finely written out, dressed myself the best I could, the next day, and went to court, where I did not stay long before her majesty came down the great stairs, (at the bottom of which I had planted myself,) led by the duke of Argyle, who I suppose was talking of me, because her majesty eyed me very earnestly, and his grace often smiled upon me. As soon as she came down, I fell on my right knee, as I had been instructed by the yeomen of the guard, and delivered my petition, which the queen was graciously pleased to receive with a smile, and helping me up, said, It should be her care to provide for me; and perceiving me with child, added, If you are delivered of a boy I will give him a commission as soon as he is born: but to my sorrow, it proved a girl, who has caused me great trouble and vexation. Her majesty was further pleased to give me an order to the earl of Oxford for fifty pounds, to defray the charge of my lying-in. I often waited on that noble lord, but could neither get money nor access, which I humbly represented to the queen, who gave me, in her great goodness, a second order for that sum to sir William Windham, who paid it me without the trouble of going twice to receive it.

Some time after I was brought to bed of the child I went with when I presented my petition to the queen, lord Forrester and lord Fofard ordered me to be at the King's Arms in Pall-mall, where they were to dine with some other noblemen and gentlemen of the army, designing to make a collection for my immediate support. I was punctual to the time their lordships had appointed; but none of the company being yet come, I waited at the door, with my child in my arms. While I was at my post, a soldier who had served abroad seeing me, very wisely concluded that I was a lewd woman, and began to treat me as such in the grossest language; and after a volley of G—d d—me's, mixed with the common flowers of rhetoric b—h and w—re, said, it was a burning shame the nobility should encourage a pack

of idle lewd b——s, and support them and their b———ds with that bread which they ought rather to distribute among such as had ventured their lives, and spilled their blood in the service of their country; he concluded this friendly salutation with a blow of his stick across my breasts. The language he had given me was provocation sufficient to inflame me; but a blow was an indignity never before put upon me, and enraged me to such a degree, that not considering I had the child in one arm, I flew upon him, and began to belabour him with my right fist. A drawer who saw the disadvantage I was under, took the child from me, and having both hands at liberty, I gave him such a thorough beating, that he cried out for quarter; but I, deaf to everything but resentment, rolled him in the kennel, and had demolished him if he had not promised to beg pardon in the most submissive manner, which indeed he did, alleging in defence of his insolence that he did not know me, but now that he was informed who I was, he was ready to acknowledge I deserved whatever was done for me, and would show me more respect for the future. Out of evil, it is said, often comes good: this insult, and the consequential battle, proved very lucky to me, for it happened as the quality was returning from court, who stopped their chariots to be spectators of the fray, in which I received neither hurt nor loss, but that of my sarcenet hood being torn, which however was amply repaired by the money lord Harvey and the marquis of Winchester threw me out of the tavern window, and that I had from others of the nobility, which amounted to upwards of nine pounds, beside a large quantity of untouched provisions from the tables of such quality as dined at the King's Arms that day.

A few days after this, as I was sauntering in the Court of Requests, I met with two of my countrywomen who sold fruit, &c.: one of them, a single woman, named Judith, was my acquaintance in Ireland; the other,

whose name was Mary, had only two husbands, one living in Ireland, and one in Drury-lane. This latter, as two of a trade can never agree, took it into her head to reflect on the reputation of the former, who, good-natured girl, always traded on her own bottom, whereas the other not only dealt on her own stock, but got money also by other folks' wares. As I was talking with Judith, I thought it a piece of impertinence, and an insult upon me, to attack her at that time, which I resented by giving her first a severe thrashing, and next, in a public manner, the discipline schoolmasters give their idle scholars, which afforded no small diversion to the spectators, especially to the gentlemen of the livery.

On a Saturday morning, the 15th of November, 1712, having some business at Kensington, as I went through Hyde Park, I saw four gentlemen jump over the ditch into the nursery, which made me suspect a duel, and hasten towards them to endeavour, if possible, to prevent mischief; but I could not get time enough, for they all four drew and engaged, two and two, with great animosity; one, who I found was colonel Hamilton, instantly closed in and disarmed his antagonist, general Macartney, and at the same time the other two fell, the one upon the other. These were lord Mohun, and the duke of Hamilton; the former fell dead upon the spot, and the latter expired soon after. Colonel Hamilton was wounded in the instep, and Macartney, as some keepers came up, walked off, and was not taken; though a reward of several hundred pounds was offered for the apprehending him. Had I been examined as a witness in this affair, my affidavit might, possibly, have left no doubt; but it was very happy for me I was not thought of, as my evidence would in all probability have made enemies of my friends; having often experienced the charity of several noblemen, intimates of the deceased lords, and I must have disobliged one side, as I should have

sworn to the truth of what my eyes had witnessed: which, as it is not now material, I shall not declare, but refer my readers to the history of those times.

It was not long after this, that, instigated by a strong desire to see my friends and native country, which I had not visited for some years, my circumstances being very easy by the queen's bounty, and the charitable assistance of the nobility, and officers of the army, I wrote to my mother to let her know I would be in Dublin in a short time, and indeed got there before her, who, though upwards of a hundred years of age, travelled ten miles on foot to give me the meeting. The poor old woman, who had long given me over for dead, having in so many years heard nothing from or of me, wept for joy, and in such an excessive manner, when she embraced me, that I could not refrain mingling my tears with hers, my transport being equally as great. Upon inquiry after my children, I learned that the elder of them died at the age of eighteen, and that the younger was in the workhouse. The nurse, with whom, at my departure, I had left the best of my goods, together with my child, soon threw him upon the parish: her tenderness for my poor infant being measured by her interest, she was soon tired of the burden he was to her. Indeed, but one of those with whom I had intrusted my effects, was honest enough to give me any account of them, and that was Mr. Howell, father to the person who ruined my virgin innocence; all the others, like the nurse, thought the possession I had given them warranted their converting my goods to their own use, and looked upon me as an unreasonable woman to expect a return. My misfortune was, that the honest man had but few, and those the worst of my goods, which he kept safe, and restored justly. I had no better luck with regard to my house; for the person whom I left in it, when I went to Holland, dying, one Bennet set up a claim to it as his freehold, and got possession, there being none

in my absence to contest his title, and I could not out him, as my writings were lost or destroyed: and indeed what could I have done had I had those evidences? I had not money sufficient to carry me through a lawsuit, and to expect justice without money, is much the same as to think of reducing a fortified town without ammunition: I was therefore compelled to sit down by my loss, and think on some method to get an honest living. As I had before kept a public house, and was used to sutling in the army, I could thing on nothing better than that of my former; and accordingly, I took a house, put in a stock of beer, and by this and making pies I got a comfortable support, till my evil genius entangled me in a third marriage with a soldier named Davies. He had served in the first regiment of foot guards in the Low Countries, but on the conclusion of the peace between France and the high allies, he was, at his own request, discharged from the service. His father dying during his absence, and leaving him a small patrimony, he left Flanders and went to his brother, who lived near Chester, to take possession of the provision his father had made for him; but his brother, who had lain hold of it, and knew he was not in circumstances to compel him to do justice, made a jest of his pretensions, and to this day keeps to himself what their father had designed for his support. This unexpected disappointment obliged him to betake himself, once more, to a military life, and coming over to Dublin, he was enrolled in the Welch fusileers. After my marriage with this man, I continued on my public business, till his regiment was ordered to Hereford, in the first year of king George I., when a weak effort was made in favour of the Pretender. I stayed behind him in Dublin no longer than was absolutely necessary to dispose of my effects; which having done, I got a pass from the secretary of war, and followed my husband to Hereford; from thence I went to Glocester, designing for London, where I intended to settle. The Jacobites

being somewhat elated, some who were in the commission were little cautious in declaring their sentiments, and I met with a good deal of trouble with regard to the signing my pass, and also with the under officers, who were disaffected to the Hanover succession; but the favour and contributions of his majesty's loyal subjects make me ample amends. At Colebrook I met colonel Floyer, with whom I supped, and the next day, pursuing my journey, I arrived in London. While I was travelling to town, my husband was on his march to Preston, where the rebels were assembled.

Her late majesty, beside her bounty of fifty pounds, had ordered me a shilling a day subsistence for life, which the lord-treasurer Oxford, without the queen's knowledge, reduced to five-pence. The ministry being now changed, I flattered myself that I should have justice done me, and be restored to my whole allowance of a shilling: with these hopes, I addressed myself to Mr. Craigs, who produced the warrant, and generously undertaking my affair, got the king's order for my receiving the shilling as intended by queen Anne, which I have ever since enjoyed. I lost a good friend at the death of this gentleman.

By the time the Preston rebellion was quelled, I had settled myself in a house in the Willow-walk, Tothill-fields, Westminster, where I took to making farthing pies and selling strong liquors, and had such success that I was soon able to purchase, at a large expense, a discharge for my husband, which was just so much money thrown away; for in two days after his arrival in town, being in drink, he enlisted in the guards.

One night after my husband was in bed, and I in a manner undressed, some frolicksome sparks, thinking they show a great deal of humour in being sillily mischievous, took it into their heads to tear up the pitching-place which I had made for porters to ease themselves by resting their burdens upon, and to throw that and the board on which I exposed my pies into the

ditch; no doubt they would have done further mischief, had I not run down, followed by my husband and a lodger, all three almost naked, and put a stop to their career. I gave the worthy gentleman whom I first laid hold on, such a thorough rib-roasting, that he was glad to cry quarter, and to promise that he would make good the damage, and give us a treat for the pains we had taken to convince them, by weighty arguments, that the pitching-place and pie-board were more convenient where I had set them, than where they had thrown them.

The house I lived in, and two adjoining, I rented of —— S——ley, esq., at eight pounds a year. I repaired these, and bought the willows before them of a former tenant, by whom they had been planted. My landlord, notwithstanding, being in distress of money, let my tenements over my head to one B—by a bailiff, on a long lease, for the sake of a fine, which the said B—by paid him; without giving me the least intimation. The Sunday after the lease was signed, B—by let me know that for the future I was to pay my rent to him, that he thought the tenements under-let, and I must either agree to the raising my rent next quarter, or provide myself elsewhere. I used all the rhetoric I was capable of to divert him from so great cruelty, as I termed the raising my rent; but finding he had no bowels, and that entreaties and submission only flattered his pride and made him more obdurate, as is the nature of these low-bred upstarts, who are purse-proud, I resolved to vent my passion, which with much difficulty I had hitherto curbed, and changing my dialect, I treated him with all the opprobrious terms I could think of; and though I say it myself, there are very few, if any, of the academy of Billingsgate, was a greater proficient in the piscatory salutations. I hope my readers will not attribute this to me as a piece of vanity, when they reflect that quite through this long account of myself, I have all along guarded against that weakness, and only related pure matters of fact.

The next day, my new landlord brought a carpenter with him to lop my trees; I foreseeing this would be the ground of a quarrel, secured my husband, that he might not have an assault sworn against him by Bilby, and went out myself with a resolution, if possible, to provoke him to strike me first, and in such case, to belabour him to some purpose. The carpenter was got into a tree, and Bilby stood below to secure the branches as they fell; but I forced them from him, and upon his asking the reason, told him the trees were my property, that I had bought and paid for them to such a one; he replying that he was a rogue, I readily acknowledged that he might very well be called so, with respect to honest men, but with regard to a bailiff, and especially to so vile a cannibal as he was, the man ought to be allowed honest. Bilby, irritated at the compliment, endeavoured to wrest the branch I had taken, out of my hand, and finding he struggled in vain, he gave me a blow. I never received one before with pleasure; but I own the stroke afforded me a particular satisfaction, as it gave me an opportunity to pommel the rascal with impunity, and I did not let it slip; for I flew at him and beat him unmercifully, as I was greatly superior to him in strength. The carpenter, seeing his comrade so roughly handled, came down to his assistance, and, endeavouring to take me off him, tore my headclothes, which was directly quenching fire with oil; for I left the bailiff, who took that opportunity to make a precipitate retreat, and leave us to fight it out. I, having seized the carpenter, struck up his heels, and falling upon him with my knee in his stomach, I let him rise, but it was to knock him down again, which I did till I was quite spent with thrashing him and forced to give over, though much later than the poor fellow could have wished; for he often endeavoured to get clear of me, and follow the example of his principal, which he did as soon as he could, and showed he had better heels than hands.

About this time there was a camp in Hyde Park, where I kept a sutler's tent; lord Cadogan, when the king came to review the forces, treated his majesty and the prince, with a great many of the nobility, and was so good as to send for me to stand sentinel at the tent door; but to my misfortune, having nobody I could trust with my business, my husband being to perform exercise in the foot guards, I could not do that duty. However, I resolved at all events to see the king; but finding several general officers in a tent joining to that in which his majesty dined, I stepped in to them without design of staying; but they plied me so well with strong-bodied wines, that I had almost forgot what I went upon; they gave me a shilling apiece for a kiss, which I gave them, and went to see the king: but I had delayed too long, his majesty was going into his coach when I came up; however I got so near, that he perceived me, and with great humanity said, he thought to have seen the old dragoon sooner. I prayed God to go with his majesty, and he drove off, leaving me disappointed in my expectations. I went to take a view of the pavilion which was formerly taken by prince Eugene from the grand vizier in Hungary, and certainly the richest I ever saw. While I was looking upon this magnificent piece of work, I remembered that the nobility who attended on his majesty and the prince, were entertained in an adjoining tent; I immediately went thither, and was admitted. I acquainted them that I had lost several pounds in the camp, by scoring their followers, and hoped they would take it into consideration. On this one proposed contributing a guinea apiece, which was so great and seasonable a relief, that without it I must either have perished, or gone upon the parish; for the fatigue of cooking, and the effect which the loss of the money I trusted in the camp, had on my mind, threw me into a tertian ague, which compelled me to leave the camp the following day. As to any assistance from

my husband, it would have been the highest of folly to have expected it, as he always spent more than he got; nay, so inconsiderate was he, that the day after I left the camp, he sold my tent and everything in it for forty shillings, though the tent alone cost me fifty; and, notwithstanding the condition I was in, spent every penny of the money.

While I was lain up with the ague, I heard the news of the duke of Marlborough's death; which additional trouble, for I was greatly indebted to his grace's goodness, both abroad and at home, increased my illness, and even to this day affects me; he had been my colonel, general, and benefactor, and the remembrance of what I owe to his humanity, will make me lament his death to the day of my own. I was, at the time of his funeral, well enough to go abroad, though very weak; however, I went to the late duke's house, and, placing myself by my husband, marched in the funeral procession, with a heavy heart and streaming eyes. When the ceremony was over, I left the regiment in the camp, and returned to my house.

When I was thoroughly recovered, unwilling to be troubled with my landlord Mr. S——y and his new tenant the bailiff, I settled at Windsor: the former of these, being overwhelmed with debt, and threatened with a gaol, put an end to the menaces of his creditors and his own life by cutting the veins of his wrist; the latter met with a just reward of his rogueries.

I lived a private life in my new settlement, supported by the benevolence of the nobility and gentry to whom I had the honour of being known; and which was much more considerable than at present, as many of my benefactors are dead, as some imagining that what they gave me was extravagantly thrown away, and others, that I got considerably elsewhere, have either curtailed, or quite withdrawn their former charity; so that, at this day, I have not one-third of the benefactors I then had.

Having spent a whole year at Windsor, I grew tired of so inactive a life, and resolved to get once more into business. I removed to Paddington, took a public house, and by my diligence, and complaisance to my customers, had their number daily increase. Here, as elsewhere, I continued my visits to such as honoured me with their protection, and to whose generous contributions I was indebted for greater part of my support ever since my arrival from Flanders.

Among the rest of my benefactors, there was a noble lady who made me several presents, and one day gave me a hoop-petticoat, a machine I knew not how to manage; and no wonder, for I never had one on before, and I believe it requires as much dexterity to exercise as a musket; however I was resolved, since it came at such an easy rate, to show away in it, and accordingly, wanting something of a brazier, I put on my hoop, which made me fancy myself in a go-cart, used for children when they begin first to feel their legs. I could not help laughing at the figure I made; but my finery, which at my setting out was the subject of my mirth, occasioned me, before I returned, both pain and confusion. In Knave's-acre, the footpath being narrow, I thrust against a post, which made the other side of my hoop fly up. I, who had never been hooped before, imagined it was some rude fellow thrusting his hands up my coats, and thinking slily to revenge the insult, threw my stick back without looking behind me, and gave my left hand, I carried on my wound, which has been always open, such a blow, that I could not help crying out. I turned about, but could see nobody but some apprentices, who came about me at my roaring, and set up a loud laughter at the awkward management of my hoop, which I heartily cursed, with its inventor, and made off, vexed and ashamed at becoming the sport of boys.

Soon after this, I was sent for by some men of quality, and gentlemen of distinction, who, for their di-

version, had invited sir James Baker, called by them lord Lateran, to the Thatched House to dinner; to which, however, they sat down without his lordship, and despatched in a hurry, and ordering a couple of ducks, some beefsteaks, and soup, to be set by for him, went into another room, whither I was conducted, and taught my cue.

This lord Lateran was a person with whose simplicity several of the quality diverted themselves; he was by some esteemed a fool, others thought him mad, and others again believed he wore a mask, and rather suffered himself to be laughed at and made the jest of the company, than go without a dinner; which must have been the case, had he wanted the sense to conceal that, he could not but have, of the tricks put upon him.

Soon after the quality with whom the mock lord was to have dined were withdrawn, as I have said, his lordship came in, and resented their not staying for him, as the highest indignity offered to a man of his quality. The drawer endeavoured to appease him by a detail of what was set by for his lordship. Hearing there was soup, of which he was a great lover, and an immoderate eater, he was somewhat pacified, ordered it in, and fell to, very heartily, a waiter attending his lordship's further orders. I, by the time he was seated, went up and knocked at the door; the servant, who had his instructions, opened it, and asked my business; I asked if Sir James Baker was there. Madam, said the waiter, I know no such person, here is nobody here but my lord Lateran. In the interim, the devisers of this plot on the poor lord, slipped in, and concealed themselves behind a screen that was between him and the door.

The fellow naming lord Lateran, I answered, he was the very person after whom I inquired; went abruptly into the room, and seated myself opposite to him. His lordship seemed both confused and nettled at this

freedom; he stared at me, and when he had recovered his surprise, asked what my business was, whence I came, and who sent me thither, desiring I would be expeditious, as he was but just set down to dinner. My dear, said I, I do not design to interrupt you in your meal, as I came on purpose to dine with you, though this pretended ignorance of me causes both my grief and astonishment, since you cannot but know that I had more regard to your solicitations than to my interest, having entirely disobliged all my friends by becoming your wife.—Wife! Wife! replied my lord in amaze, Why woman I never was married!—Is it possible, my lord, a man of your quality and good sense can bring a blemish on his honour, by denying what he is conscious can be so easily proved? It is happy for me and my two babies, as like you as one pea to another, that I have three witnesses of our marriage, or I find you would ruin my character and bastardize your poor innocent children.—Children too! very fine truly, I have a wife and two children without knowing anything of the matter!—Lookye, my lord, I am not a woman to be trifled with; your simple denial will avail you nothing against the oaths of three credible, nay, creditable witnesses, though it has given me such a contempt for your person, that I can part with you and not break my heart; but I expect you will, and that immediately, furnish me money for my and your children's support.—Why, thou thoroughpaced imposter! thou notorious abominable liar!—Go on, my lord; money I must and will have; this mean foul language is a scandal to your quality, but does not affect me or make me less your wife.—So I find you will swear I am married, to extort money out of me.—His lordship then turning to the drawer, who, though an actor in the farce, kept his countenance, which was naturally austere, desired he would do him the favour to hand that gentlewoman down stairs, and set his foot in her b——h. The fellow, prompted

from behind the screen, answered, that he durst not part man and wife, as he did not know how dangerous it might be with regard to the law, extremely severe in such cases. My lord, in a fright, asked him if he thought I was really his wife; As God is my judge, said he, I never was married to her. I cannot tell that, replied the other; She avers, and you deny it; she has witnesses to prove it upon oath, and you cannot prove a negative, let her evidence appear. There is no occasion for that, replied his lordship; this is some abandoned battered old jade, who can no longer get money by whoring, and would now extort it by swearing a sham marriage upon me: I don't question her being prepared with false witnesses. Come, my dear lord, said I, fall to your soup, and after dinner, I will show your ingratitude by giving incontestible proof of our marriage. As his lordship was pretty sharp set, he took my advice, and fell to very heartily, protesting it was the best soup he had ever eat, only a little too salt. He had reason to say so, for the wag of a cook had pissed in it, and for that reason had bid me eat none. When his lordship had finished the soup, I bid the waiter bring me a plate, a knife, and a fork. Why sure, said my lord, you don't intend to dine with me?—Indeed but I do, and bed with you too. Do you think I married to have only the bare name of a wife?—Prithee woman, be quiet; if you want a dinner, stay till I have done, or get to the sideboard. Was there ever such a vile impudent woman?—Was there ever such an unkind husband? but, my dear, you can't be in earnest, this is only to try my patience!—I protest, if I had my sword here, I would run you through the body. He spoke this with such emotion, that he set our audience upon the titter, and had like to have discovered all. The steaks and ducks being set upon the table, I desired he would help me; but he was now grown sullen, and I could not wrest a word from him;

wherefore, without ceremony, I helped myself, where I best liked. Having dined, I told him I would now take my leave in hopes of finding him in better temper another time, but I entreated one kiss at parting. No, no, woman, I kiss you? Kiss the devil's dam. I will have a kiss before I go. Saying this, I got up, and made towards him; he endeavoured to avoid me, and I chased him round the room before I could fasten upon him, and when I did, I held him fast round the neck and kissed him spite of his resistance; this threw him into such a passion that he would have run out of the room, and infallibly have seen the company behind the screen, but I got hold of him and gave them an opportunity to get off. When I thought they were got off clear, I let my lord go, who made the best of his way down stairs: when at the bottom, he threatened the master of the house that he would ruin him, for suffering such an insolent jade to affront a man of his quality.

The company who set me to play this roll, were highly diverted with the performance on all hands; but, for my part, I can't but believe the mock lord smelt a rat, and was as little angry as I was fond. My reasons are, he eat heartily; could not but hear those behind the screen titter, and also hear them go out of the room; but it was his interest not to discover them. In short, they laughed at my lord, and my lord, if the truth was known, laughed at them. However, if I guess right, he carried on the jest, by industriously avoiding me if by chance he at any time saw me in the streets.

While I lived at Paddington I applied myself to some friends, who at my request got my husband's discharge from the foot-guards; but in this I wanted foresight, for he falling into his former extravagances, was so far from being of service to me in my business, as I had hoped he would, that I was obliged to throw up

my house and shop, sell off my goods, and procure a pass from lord C——t for Ireland. When I came from that nobleman's house, where I had been for the above purpose I passed by that of lord S——x. Two of his footmen who were at the door, stopped me, and the gentleman ran to tell his lord that I was below. Upon the gentleman's returning, he told me that his lord wanted me to teaze sir James Baker, who with a great deal of company, was at table with his lordship. I was very glad of the opportunity, and followed the gentleman up stairs, who, pointing to a room, and making signs for me to go in, I rapped gently at the door, and somebody called out, Come in. I obeyed the order; several of the company, strangers to me and the story of the Thatched House, were, at my entrance, pretty much surprised; but more so, when they saw lord S——x smile upan me. I put on a seeming confusion, and begged pardon for being so unmannerly as to intrude into a strange company in a nobleman's house, but hoped they would think me rather an object of their compassion than resentment, when they knew that it was the unkindness of a husband, for whom I had the tenderest affection, forced me to take a step, which I was sensible could hardly be excused by any other motive. My lord, said I, my name is Baker, and as I heard sir James Baker is in this company, I have taken the liberty to inquire after my husband. Madam, replied my lord, there is no such person here, possibly you mean lord Lateran; if it is that noble lord you seek, you have not lost your labour, he is at table. The moment sir James heard me name him, he turned his head, and spying me, in a violent, if not a feigned, passion, vented himself in these or the like words; Thou wicked, vile, base, infamous woman, why dost thus haunt me? How! said my lord S——x, by this language she cannot be your lady, for lord Lateran has too much honour to treat a wife with such harsh lan-

guage. Then turning to me, as if I was entirely unknown to him, he continued; Woman, look to what you are about, men of quality are not to be insulted with impunity; you must not think to impose on that noble lord; you call yourself his wife, if you do not prove it, I have a good pump in my yard to revenge the insult on that noble person, and may perhaps cure you of your vile practice. I desired his lordship not to judge partially or rashly, but that he would give me leave to speak. His lordship said it was just and reasonable to hear what I could offer. My lords, said I, my simple assertion, I am sensible, would little avail me; but I have living witnesses of the truth of what I have advanced; witnesses, my lord, who were present when the priest performed the ceremony of our marriage, besides two sons, the fruits of it, enregistered in his name, and long acknowledged his children by himself. It is true, that ten years since he left me, without any just matter of complaint against me; for I defy the world, censorious as it is, to cast the least reflection on my honour; my enemies allow me a woman of insuperable virtue. Oh! the vile strumpet, cried sir James. Let her proceed, said lord S——x, she speaks with an air of truth, and your passion makes me fear there is some jealousy at the bottom of this affair. Z——ds, said sir James, your lordship can't believe that infamous wretch; upon my honour I never saw her but once before, except in the streets, and then she pinned herself upon me at the Thatched House. Let her go on, replied lord S——x. Continued I, I am to this day ignorant of the reason why he left me, which, I must own, greatly afflicted me; for he was a very fond husband for the space of three years that we lived happily together. Not three minutes, my lord, on my honour, cried sir James; the devil must have spirited up this incubus to persecute me. I went on; Your lordship cannot suppose that I have my witnesses always with

me, wherefore, my lord, I put it upon this issue for the present, let him take his oath that I am not his wife; he dares not do it. Lord S——x said that would be descending below his dignity. Well, my lord, since he is now a man of quality, I am loath to expose him in a public court, and am ready to forget what is passed, if he will return with me to his own house. My dear lord Lateran, you know how you have wronged me, but I will never mention the injury, all shall be buried in oblivion, and will seal this promise with a virtuous kiss. I was going round to him, and he seeing no way to avoid me, leaped over the table, threw down some chairs, broke a few glasses, threw open the door, ran down stairs, threatening to kill the man who would stop him, and swore he would never more enter that house. In the streets he had all the actions of a madman, lifting his hands to heaven, doubling his fists, stamping; and as a footman who followed him, reported, threatening me with death. When the laugh was over, which made some of the company hold their sides, and others wipe their eyes, lord S——x ordered me to sit down, take a glass, and give the company my story; I obeyed his lordship, and was as succinct as possible. When I had finished my history, every one at table made me a present of five shillings, and my lord S——x bid me take a bottle of wine home with me.

Soon after this, having made money of my goods, I left Paddington and went to Charles-street, Westminster. Here having an order from the governors of Chelsea College to appear at the Board, as all do, at a certain time, who receive pensions as invalids, I went and made my appearance. In returning home through the Five-fields, I fell in with two pensioners, who had been on the same errand; one of them, who was an intimate acquaintance, stopped me to inquire after my health. His companion took an opportunity, from the

difference of our pensions to abuse me, as undeserving that I enjoyed, having never done anything for the government. Nettled at this treatment, I made a comparison between his and my service, greatly to my own advantage, and concluded with calling him a faggot and a cowardly dog, Stung with this appellation, he was resolved to show his bravery, for he drew, and made a thrust at me, who had no other weapon than my stick, with which I put by his pass, closed in with him, wrenched the sword out of his hand, threw it over the bank, fell upon him with my oaken plant, broke his head in two places, and belaboured him till he cried *Peccavi.* Two gentlemen, spectators of the fray, offered a me ten shilling treat, but my business would not let me accept it.

I now waited about the court that I might be in the way of my benefactors, and often received their benevolence, which enabled me to return to and settle in my native country. I took a house as near as possible to the castle, as I had great dependence on the lord lieutenant lord C——t's family, and, indeed, his lordship's servants were the best customers I had, as my lord himself was my best friend, often giving me money to pay my rent, beside a privilege he allowed me, exclusive of all others to sell beer in the Deer Park on a review day; but, as there was a greater call for liquor than I could furnish, I gave a license to two others.

I stayed but one year in Ireland, which was as much owing to my inclination to rambling as to my business not answering my expectation; but while I was in Dublin, I happened one day to espy the Rev. Mr. Howell, who, as I have before shown, robbed me of my maiden treasure; he also had a sight of, and endeavoured to speak to me: I avoided him, and by turning into a coffee-house, eluded his design. He was now married, the father of eleven children, and settled in Shropshire, where my husband at this time was. He,

finding that I carefully avoided giving him an opportunity to converse with me, went home to his brother's, where he lodged while in Dublin, and appeared very melancholy; every one inquired into the cause of his visible alteration; but his sister, alone could extort the secret from him. He told her that he had seen me, which brought fresh to his memory the injury he had done me, and the perjury he had been guilty of; that a reflection upon his injustice was intolerable, and gave him such pain, that he believed he should never recover his peace of mind. His sister would have sent for me, but he would not suffer her; For, said he, I am sure she will not come, her resentment of the wrong I have done her is too strong. The next day he left Dublin, and about seven weeks after, his sister meeting me, read a letter, which gave her the melancholy account of his having destroyed himself. Change of kingdoms had made no change in his temper; his sadness daily increased, and he could find no ease, wherefore he resolved to put an end to his life, which was a torture to him: to this end, he one day rose very early, and went into his study; his wife, at her usual hour, got up, and preparing his breakfast, sent one of the children to give him notice that it was ready: the child, after having knocked several times at the door, without any one answering, opened the door, found him hanging in his sash, and quite dead. At this sight the child screeched out, and fell into a swoon. The child's scream alarmed her mother, who, running up with some others of her children, saw the distracting sight; the poor woman was inconsolable, for she not only lost a husband she loved, but saw herself by that loss deprived of bread, with eleven children to maintain. Mr. Howell, some little time before he was guilty of this rash action, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he tells him, that the reflection on the injury he had done me, had robbed him of all peace of mind,

and brought upon him such a settled melancholy, that he was in a state of despair, and bid him not to be surprised if he should hear that he had lain violent hands upon himself.

When I had resolved upon quitting Dublin, I sent a letter to my husband to take a house for me at Chester. Soon after he sent me an answer, and let me know he had taken a very convenient one for me in that town, and desired me to make all possible haste to get thither. On the receipt of this, I went to take my leave of lord C——t, who, to divert himself, would needs see the ceremony of a camp marriage, so led colonel P——t and me into the garden, where, laying two swords across, the colonel first and I next, jumped over them, his lordship performing the function of the priest, pronouncing the following words, Jump Rogue,—Follow Whore. After the ceremony was over, my lord gave us a treat, and dismissing me, I went on board the yacht.

I met colonel M——y and several land officers who were going to England in the same vessel. They asked if I had a pass, and I showed it them; but the captain of the yacht (whose surly temper and behaviour, and turning several poor people ashore who could not pay their passage, gave me a distaste) coming to me in a gruff manner, said, D——ye where's your pass? I answered him in as rough a style, and refused to let him see it. On this, he threatened to send me back, and I threatened to beat him, which was no small diversion to the officers, who egged me on to box him, but the captain had more wit. When we arrived at Chester, I showed him my pass, and, at the same time told him, I would acquaint his majesty that he stole milliners' apprentices and made a bawdy-house of the king's vessel, which was true enough.

I lived three years in Chester, and then returned to Chelsea, where I have remained ever since, without anything happening worth notice. I got my husband

into the College, where he is a sergeant, and have been hitherto subsisted by the benevolence of the quality and gentry of the court, whither I go twice a week; but the expense of coach hire, as both my lameness and age increase, for I cannot walk ten yards without help, is a terrible tax upon their charity, and at the same time, many of my friends going no longer to court, my former subsistence is greatly diminished from what it was.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF MRS. CHRISTIAN DAVIES.

THE END.

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c/o